



# THE TABAQĀT-I-AKBARĪ

OF

## KHWĀJAH NIZĀMUDDĪN AHMAD

(A HISTORY OF INDIA FROM THE EARLY MUSALMĀN  
INVASIONS TO THE THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR OF  
THE REIGN OF AKBAR)

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VOLUME I  
~~~~~

TRANSLATED BY

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## NOTE.

For reasons, which it is not necessary to mention here, my work remained in abeyance till I was induced to take it up again in the latter part of 1925. I have now completed the first volume which ends with the fall of the Afghan kings of Delhi.

I must acknowledge here, the cordial co-operation of Mr. Johan van Manen, the General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the help I have received from Shams-ul-Ulamā Mawlawī Hidāyat Hosain, the Joint Philological Secretary.

B. DE.

*September 1927.*



## E R R A T A.

Page	line	32.	for " Maḥmūd "	read " Mas'ūd."
" 59.	" 1. n. 3.	"	" these "	" the."
" 95.	" 5.	"	" thesons "	" the sons."
" 109.	" 3,	"	" Sunam "	" Sunām."
" 158.	" 9.	"	" conquered "	" reconquered."
" 164,	" 2.	"	" remaided "	" remained."
" 167,	" 2 & 3, n. 1,	"	" بامير "	" امير.
" 178,	" 25.	"	" Tartak "	" Tartāk."
" 179,	" 3,	"	" "	" "
" 354.	" 12;	"	" 4188 "	" 1488."

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pavilion, on Prince Fatch Khān and directed coins to be struck in his name, and officers to be appointed under him.

When the Sultān arrived at Panduah, Sultān Sikandar took shelter in the fort of Ekdālah. Sultān Firoz encamped in its neighbourhood, and carried on the siege. After a few days, Sultān Sikandar prayed for protection; and agreed to send a yearly tribute of elephants and other valuables. The Sultān then started on his return journey, on the 20th Jamādi-ul-āwwal of that year. When he

#### NOTE FOR BINDING.

Pages 247-248 of fascicle 1 have to be removed and to be replaced by the corresponding pages of fascicle 2.

The title pages, note, errata and contents, marked (I) to (VIII), are to be bound in front of the preface and introduction, marked i to viii.

returned and proceeded towards Padmāvati, which is a favourite grazing ground of elephants, to hunt for these animals. He caught thirty-three of them alive, and killed two. Ziā-ul-Mulk composed the following quatrain on this subject :—

The Sultān, who with justice, to greatness did attain,  
Did like the glorious sun the entire world o'erercrown !  
To Jājnagar he came, the elephants to hunt ;  
He captured three and thirty, and two he killed.

From that place he came to Karah by successive marches, and in the month of Rajab in the year 772 A.H., he arrived in Dehli.

After some time he rode towards a canal which is called

Aslimah. This comprises (is formed by the junction of) two broad perennial streams separated by a lofty dike. The Sultān ordered that fifty thousand beldārs (spademen) should be collected, and directed to dig the canal. Inside the dike very large bones of elephants and men were discovered; for example the bones of a man's arm which was three yards in length. It had become petrified in part, and was still bone in part. At the same time he separated Sarhind which in reality belonged to the revenue division of Sāmānah; and formed the country to a distance of ten *karohs* from Sarhind into a separate district; and placed it in charge of Ziā-ul-Mulk Shams-ud-dīn Abu Rajā. He erected a fort there and named it Firozpūr. From that place he marched towards Nagarkot. When he reached the skirts of the hills, and people brought him some ice, he said, "When Sultān Muhammad Shāh, on whom be the mercy of God! who was my master, reached this place, and his attendants brought him some iced sharbat, he did not drink any, as I was not present." He then ordered that a few elephant and camel loads of candy which they had in the camp should be used for making iced sharbat, to be distributed among the soldiers, in memory of Sultān Muhammad Shāh. The Raja of Nagarkot, after a siege and some fighting, hastened with his sons to do homage to the Sultān; and placed the saddle cloth of service on their shoulders. The Sultān treated him with kindness. He changed the name of Nagarkot, and called it Muhammadābād after Sultan Muhammad deceased. At this time people represented to the Sultān, that at the time when Sikandar <sup>1</sup>Zulgarnain had reached this place, the people of the country fashioned an image of <sup>2</sup>Nushāba and placed it in a house, and

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<sup>1</sup> Zulgarnain means bicornous or two horned. Jupiter Ammon, Alexander the Great, and 'Alī bin Abi Tālib were among others called Zulgarnain. See for details Encyclopedia of Islām, vol. I, p. 691.

<sup>2</sup> Nushāba was a queen of a country called Barda' بردع. This country was pillaged, and she was taken away as a captive by the Russians! She was rescued by Alexander the Great and afterwards became his mistress. See the Sikandar nūmah. It is difficult to say where Barda' was. There is one Barda' which was once the largest town in the Caucasus, but is now a village with ruins on the Terter at the confluence of that river with the Qura. Briggs in his translation of Ferishtah calls Nushāba wife of Alexander the Great, but Ferishtah's text does not say so. Col. Ranking commenting on Briggs tries

now it had become an object of worship to the people ; and there were one thousand and three hundred books of the ancient Brāhmans, in this temple, which is known as Jālāmukhi.<sup>1</sup> And the Sultān sent for the learned men of that tribe ; and ordered some of the books to be translated. Among these, 'Izzuddīn Khālīd Khānī, who was among the poets of that age, translated into verse a book on natural philosophy and auguries and omens, and called it the Dalāel-i-Firoz Shāhī. This *Faqir* has read it. In truth it is a <sup>2</sup> book containing various philosophical facts both of science and practice.

In short, after the conquest of Nagarkot, the Sultān marched towards *Thatha*, and when he reached it, the *Jām* who was the ruler of the place, entrenched himself and relying on the strength of the water, waged war for a time ; and the Sultān retired to *Gujrāt* on account of the dearness of grain, and the want of fodder, and the great extent of water. Passing the rainy season there, he again returned to *Thatha*. He conferred the government of *Gujrāt* on *Zafar Khān* and dismissed <sup>3</sup> *Nizām-ul-Mulk*. The latter came with his dependants to Dehli and became the *Naib* (deputy) *Vazīr*. When the Sultān reached *Thatha*, the *Jām* begged for safety, and rendered homage. The meaning, full of truth, of the couplet :

For protection he prayed, I granted it to him,

With humbleness he came, his life I gave to him ;

having been accepted by his enlightened mind, the Sultān brought him with all the *Zamindārs* of that country to Dehli.

In the year 772 A.H. (1370 A.D.) Khān-i-Jahān died and <sup>4</sup> Junān Shāh his eldest son had the title conferred on him.

to identify Nushāba with one of Alexander the Great's wives, and says that if she was really one of them, then she must have been the same as Roxana whose name might have been written as روشانه which might have been perverted by copyists' errors to نوشابه. I think Nushāba is entirely mythical.

<sup>1</sup> Col. Ranking calls it Javāllamukhī. The correct transliteration of the Sanskrit name is Jvālāmukhī which means of the Flaming Mouth. See his translation of the *Muntakhābāt-ut-tavārīkh*, vol. I, p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī describes it as 'moderately good, neither free from beauties nor defects' : *ibid.*, p. 332.

<sup>3</sup> Amīr Husain, son of the late Amīr Mīran, (Elliot III, 326).

<sup>4</sup> The name is given variously in the MSS. as Junān Shāh and Khubān Shāh. He remained Vazīr for twenty years, but towards the end of the reign, enmity

In the year 773 A.H. (1371-72) A.D. Zafar Khān died in Guj-rāt and his eldest son was invested with the title of Zafar Khān and the government of Guj-rāt. On the 12th of the month of *Safar* in the year 776 A.H. Shāhzādāh Fateh Khān died at <sup>1</sup> Kahtur.

In the year 776 A.H. Shams-ud-dīn Dāmghānī represented to the Sultān that he would send forty lakhs tankahs over and above the fixed revenue of Guj-rāt, and four hundred elephants and two hundred Arab horses, and four hundred slaves every year, if he was appointed governor of Guj-rāt. The Sultān ordered that if Zīā-ul-Mulk Malik Shams-ud-dīn Ābu Rajā, who was the naib of Zafar Khān, agreed to this enhancement, Guj-rāt should be left in his charge, Malik Shams-ud-dīn did not agree; and Shams Dāmghānī had a <sup>2</sup> belt of gold lace and a lance and a silver *chavdol* conferred on him and sent to Guj-rāt in place of Zafar Khān<sup>3</sup> deceased. But as he was unable to furnish his promised contribution, he laid the foundation of rebellion, and uniting with some of the Mir Sadahs<sup>4</sup> of Guj-rāt, such as Sheikh-Farid-ud-din and other leaders commenced hostilities. The Sultān sent an army and Shams-ud-dīn Dāmghānī was killed and his head was sent to the Sultān. After his being killed Guj-rāt was made over to Malik Mufarrah Sultānī and he received the title of Farhat-ul-Mulk.

In the year 779 A.H. (1377-78 A.D.) the Sultān marched towards Itāwah and <sup>5</sup> Akhal, and having treated Rai<sup>6</sup> Sipar dādharan.

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broke out between him and prince Muhammad Khān, afterwards Sultān Muhammad Shāh.

<sup>1</sup> The name of the place is not given by Badāonī. The MSS. have کھتور , the lithographed edition کھتوار. MS. B. has در کھتور به عالم بقا شتافت و سلطان. حرن الم بسیار نمود. Kahtur or Kahtwar was the old name for Rohilkhand.

<sup>2</sup> These were the insignia of office. Col. Ranking calls them a yellow girdle and a silver *chavdol* in his translation of the Muntakhābāt-ut-Tawārīkh (see vol. I. p. 324), and in the Persian text as edited by him (vol. I. p. 251) the کمر بند is described as زرہ but the چوڑول is correctly spelt.

<sup>3</sup> So it is in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. but as we have just seen his son received the title of Zafar Khān and the government of Guj-rāt. The son's appointment however, did not apparently take effect.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. leaders of hundreds, some kind of headmen.

<sup>5</sup> Col. Ranking calls it Akchak. Ferishtah calls it اکچل; the lith. edn. of the Tab-i-Akbarī and two of the MSS. write it اکچل two others اکچل while the fifth omits it. [no name.]

<sup>6</sup> This name is variously given in the MSS. and the lith. edn., Badāonī gives

and all the Zamindars of Hāwah who had once fought with the Sultān's army and been routed, with favour and consideration, sent them with their wives and children to Dehli. He built forts at Akhal and <sup>1</sup> Batlāhi; and left Malik-zādah Firoz, son of Malik Tāj-ud-dīn Turk, with a number of other nobles there. Firozpūr Batlāhī was also made over to him and Akhal to Malik Afghān. The Sultān then returned to Dehli. In the same year the ruler of Oudh who was accompanying the Sultān died, and the province was made over to Malik <sup>2</sup> Saifuddīn, his eldest son.

In the year 781 A.H. (1379 A.D.) he marched to <sup>3</sup> Sāmānah and Malik Qabul, the governor, brought much tribute, and then passing through Ambāla and Shāhabād he came to the hills of <sup>4</sup> Sāntur; and after receiving tribute from the Rāy of Sarmur and other Rāys, returned towards Dehli. On the way news arrived, that <sup>5</sup> Kharku the headman of Kaithar had invited Saiyad Muhammad, the governor of Badāun and Saiyad 'Alā-ud-dīn his brother as guests in his own house and had killed them both. And in the year 782 A.H. (1380 A.D.) the Sultān marched towards Kaithar for avenging the murder of the Saiyads; Kharku fled; the country of Kaithar was devastated. Kharku fled to the Kamāun hills. The Sultān having plundered that country, made over Badāun to Malik Qabul, and leaving Malik <sup>6</sup> Khitāb Afghān at <sup>7</sup> Sambal for punishing Kharku made that country his hunting ground, so that it was completely destroyed and desolated.

<sup>1</sup> This is called بٹلاہی or بٹلاہی in the MSS. Badāonī calls it Batlāhī; Ferishtah calls it تیلانی Tīlāī.

<sup>2</sup> Two of the MSS. call him یوسف الدین.

<sup>3</sup> Sāmānah was a revenue Division of the Punjab which originally included Sarhind, but the latter place was separated from it and made into a separate district by Sultān Firoz Shāh, (see ante p. 248).

<sup>4</sup> The lith. edn. calls it ساتھور the MSS calls it ساندور except one which calls it سانتوار. Badāonī calls it کوہ پابہ ساندور.

<sup>5</sup> The MSS. calls him Kharku, Khukhu, and Khukar. Badāonī calls him Rūy Lakhukhar, headman of Kaithal. In his Eng. trans. Col. Ranking calls him Khūkhar Rāi, chief of Kaithar. Kaithar (same as Kahtar) is Rohilkhand. See Thomas Pathan Kings, p. 325, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> He was doubtless the man in whose charge Akhal was left. Ferishtah calls him Malik Da'ud Afghān.

<sup>7</sup> Variouslly written Sambal and Sambhal in the lith. edn. and the MSS.



In the year 787 A.H. he built a fort at <sup>1</sup> Beuli seven *karohs* from Badāun, and named it Ferozpur, and as he did not build any other fort after this it has become known as Ākhirnpur. During this year the Sultān was overcome by infirmity and old age<sup>2</sup>; and Khān-i-Jahān obtained complete mastery over him. He wished to seize Shāhzādah Muhammad Khān and other noblemen such as Daryā Khān son of Zafar Khān, and Malik Y'āqub Muhammad Hājī and Malik Shams-ud-dīn, and Malik Kamāl-ud-dīn, who were his friends and well-wishers, and make them completely helpless. He informed the Sultān that the Shāhzādah in conjunction with the above-named noblemen intended to rise against the Sultān. The latter believing his words gave orders that the noblemen should be arrested. The Shāhzādah heard this news, and for some days did not go to see his father; Khān-i-Jahān sent for <sup>3</sup> Dariyā Khān on the pretext of taking the accounts of Mahobah, and imprisoned him in his own house. The Shāhzādah hearing this news became perplexed and frightened, and went to see his father<sup>4</sup> and impressed on him that Khān-i-Jahān wanted to attempt a rebellion, and wished to remove the great nobles, and afterwards to seize him. The Sultān gave orders for slaying Khān-i-Jahān, and released Dariyā Khān from custody. The Shāhzādah directed Malik Y'āqub to keep the horses in the special<sup>5</sup> stables ready and also that Malik Qutb-ud-dīn the keeper of the elephants should array them and begin a fight. At the end of the night the Shāhzādah attacked Khān-i-Jahān with great force. Khān-i-Jahān came out of his house with some men and commenced fighting.

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Sambal was in Rohilkhand, 23 miles S.W. of Moradabad. (See note 4 Col. Ranking's trans. of Badāonī, p. 364.)

<sup>1</sup> Various called *بيولي* or *مولي* in the MSS. and the lith. edn. Badāonī calls it *بيولي*; and Col. Ranking thinks that the place was possibly so called from the abundance of the *Babul* or *Acacia Arabica* trees there. Ferishtah calls it *بسولي*, Basuli.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says he was now 90 years of age.

<sup>3</sup> This is not mentioned by Badāonī. Mahobah was a district near Karah, it was 54 miles to the South of Hamīrpūr at the junction of the Betwa and the Jumna.

<sup>4</sup> Ferishtah says that he went concealed in a woman's litter disguised as his own wife, but this is not mentioned by the earlier historians.

<sup>5</sup> It is not clear whether this means the Sultān's or the Shāhzādah's stables.

At last he was wounded and being discomfited went into the house, and going out by another way took refuge with <sup>1</sup>Kuka Chauhān the zamindār of Miwāt. The bādshāzādah destroyed his house, and put to death <sup>2</sup>Malik 'Imād-ud-dowlah and Malik Shams-ud-dīn and Malik Saleh who had in the fight fallen into his hands. After this event the Sultān made the Shāhzādah <sup>3</sup>Vazīr with full power; and having made over to him all the paraphernalia of sovereignty such as horses and troops and elephants, and conferring on him the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn-wad-duniyā Muhammad Shāh, betook himself to devotion and service of God. On Fridays <sup>4</sup> the Khutbah was read in the names of the two bādshāhs.

Sultān Muḥammad Shāh ascended the throne in the month of Sh'abān of the year 789 A.H. (1387 A.D.), and keeping the officers of State in their various offices, gave them robes of honour. Malik Y'aqub was invested with the title of Sikandar Khān and Gujrāt was made over to him. Malik Raju received the title of Mubārīz Khān, Kamāl 'Umr that of Dastur Khān, and Samā-'Umr that of Mu'in-ul-Mulk. Malik Y'aqub who had received the title of Sikandar Khān was sent with a powerful army against Khān-i-Jahān. When the army reached the neighbourhood of Miwāt, Kukā Chauhān seized

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī calls him *کوکا زمیندار میوات* in one place, and *کوکا چوهان زمیندار* in another. Chauhān is the name of a Rajput tribe. Miwāt was the country of the Meos, a tribe of obscure origin claiming to be Rājputs, but probably of mixed origin, closely allied to the Mīnās. They probably became converts to Islām at the time of Mahmūd of Ghazni. Miwāt lay South of Dehli, and in Mughal times was part of the Sūbah of Agra. The chief towns were Narnoul, Alwar, Tijūrah and Rewārī. It now forms part of the districts of Mutra and Gurgaon, a considerable part of Alwar and some part of Bharatpur, see Hunter Imp. Gazetteer, Vol. IX, pp. 418 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Some words here are unintelligible; the lith. edn. has *بہزار قبجائی* the MSS. have *بہزاد فتح خانی* and *فتح خانی* و *فتحانی*. It is either the name of some person; or means with a thousand maltreatment. Badāonī does not give the names of any of Khān-i-Jahān's partisans, but merely says *چندی را از امراء کہ موافق خانجہان بودند*.

<sup>3</sup> *وکیل مطلق*; some of the MSS. read *وزیر مطلق*. Badāonī says he was made *وزیر مطلق العنان*, Vazīr with absolute power.

<sup>4</sup> One MS. reads after *دعیم ماہ رجب سال مذکور و جمعہ*, i.e., on Friday the 10th Rajab of the year mentioned.



him, and Sultān Muhammad's army broke up and were scattered ; and he, with the few who were left, went away towards the Sarmur hills. The Sultān's ( Firoz Shāh's ) troops, who were about one *lākh* in number including horsemen and foot soldiers, got into the palaces of Muhammad Shāh and his friends, and begun to pillage and destroy. The Sultān listening to the words of <sup>1</sup>malicious persons was annoyed with Muhammad Shāh, made <sup>2</sup>Tughlaq Shāh, son of Fateh Khān, who was his grandson, his heir, and placed him on the throne. Tughlaq Shāh brought <sup>3</sup>Amir Hasan, the son-in-law of the Sultān, who was among the special friends of Muhammad Shāh, into the palace and had him beheaded.

He also seized <sup>4</sup>Ghālib Khān, the Amīr of Sāmānah, on account of his friendship with Muhammad Shāh, banished him and sent him to the country of Bihār ; and gave Sāmānah to Malik <sup>5</sup>Sultān Shah.

On the <sup>6</sup>18th of the month of Ramazān Sultān Firoz Shāh <sup>7</sup>died. Couplets :

<sup>8</sup> To knock down heads is the nature of the skies.

One should not draw aside his head from what is writ.

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. and two MSS. have ارباب حسد, two MSS. have ارباب غرض and one ارباب حسد و غرض. Badāonī had ارباب غرض, interested persons.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī correctly calls him Tughlaq Khān. He became Tughlaq Shāh when he was placed on the throne. He became Ghiās-ud-dīn Tughlaq Shāh II.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī calls him Mir Hasan.

<sup>4</sup> One of the MSS. call him علي شاه 'Ali Shāh, but the lith. edn. and the other MSS. and Badāonī call him غالب شاه. Sāmānah was about 25 miles S. W. of Hānsī and 100 miles E. of Dehli.

<sup>5</sup> The lith. edn. calls him Malik Sultān, one MS. Malik Sultān Shāh but the others call him Malik Sultān Shah. Badāonī does not say to whom the government of Sāmānah was entrusted.

<sup>6</sup> In the Persian text of Badāonī edited by Col. Ranking the date is given as 16th, هجری 866, but the Eng. trans. has 16th.

<sup>7</sup> Instead of the simple وفات یافت of our author. Badāonī has از زحمت وجود خلاص یافتہ بعالم بقا شتافت, attained deliverance from the tortures of existence, and hastened to the world of permanence. Badāonī also says that he was buried on the borders of the Hauz-i-Khās, and over his tomb a lofty dome was erected.

<sup>8</sup> These lines with four others which precede them, but which have been

Who knows what this stirred up dust  
 With what blood of hearts is mixed ?  
 All paths, if the seeing eye is not blind,  
 Is but the skin of the elk and the wild ass's shagreen.

He ruled the world for thirty-eight years and some months ; and <sup>1</sup> 'wafāt-i-Firoz' gives the date of his death. This just bādshāh left among the people many regulations of justice and generosity and many rules of safety and protection. Among all his regulations three were excellent. The first regulation was that he entirely gave up punishment, and never punished any Musalman or (in fact) any man <sup>2</sup> ; and on account of his many gifts and gratuities, and his comforting the hearts of the people, he had no need for punishments. Although punishment is a very great part of sovereignty, yet his praiseworthy manners, and his excellent qualities became the cause of justice and equity among his people, and the paths of tyranny and oppression were completely closed ; and no created being had any power during the period of his rule of causing pain to any one. The second regulation was this, that he demanded revenue from the raiyats according to the produce of their lands, and their power to pay ; and remitted all enhancements and cesses, and never lent his ear to the words of any person in the matter of the raiyats ; and this regulation became the cause of the extension of cultivation, and the happiness of his raiyats and subjects. The third regulation was this, that for the government and administration of the various <sup>3</sup> divisions of his empire, he

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omitted by our author are also quoted by Badāoni. I have attempted a more literal translation than that of Col. Ranking. The last line means as Col. Ranking has explained that the paths are not covered with dust, but with the remains of living animals.

<sup>1</sup> Badāoni gives two chronograms (1). وفات فیروز given by our author, and (2) نقل فیروز شاه, but says that the latter is deficient by one unit.

<sup>2</sup> This of course is not quite correct. See ante for the way he treated Kharku for the murder of the Saiyads. Kharku deserved punishment, but the whole of his country was laid waste and many innocent people must have suffered grievously : and see also post. for his own account of how he treated infidels, sectaries, &c. بد مذمبان، مصلحان، مبتدعان و مراثیان.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. has ولايت but most of the MSS. have more correctly ولايات.

employed <sup>1</sup> honest and trustworthy and God-fearing officers; and never took into his service any evil-spirited or wicked person, and never made any such person a governor or an amīr (nobleman). And in conformity with the rule, that men are of the religion of their rulers, all the people imitated their ruler; and the rules of equity and justice became customary among them, and no single person had any power of harassment and oppression; and perfect peace and security was produced and reigned among high and low. His charities and benefactions and gifts and gratuities were distinguished beyond those of any other Sultān of Hindustān.

A brochure compiled by Sultān Fīroz Shāh, in which he collected the events of his reign. and which he named *Fatuhāt Fīrozshāhī*, (the victories of Fīroz Shāh) has come under my eyes. In accordance with the rule, that the words of kings are the kings of words, some of the particular matters contained in it, have, for the sake of their auspiciousness and grace, been inserted here; so that the goodness of the disposition, and the amiability of the qualities of this bādshāh of the angelic nature may become known to inquisitive and far seeing persons. This King, the refuge of justice, erected a lofty dome on the <sup>2</sup> Jāma' Masjid of Fīrozābād which was octagonal. On the eight sides of this dome, the contents of this book which has been considered to be divided into eight chapters have been inscribed on stone. One chapter is about the endowment of Masjids and in it are written directions for payment of the endowment fund by the person who is to disburse it, and about which much stress is laid. In another chapter he says that in former times the blood of Musalmans was shed

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<sup>1</sup> The lith: edn. has *عمال متدين با دين و ديانت* most of the MSS. have *عمال متدين و باعانت*.

<sup>2</sup> It is said in the *Fatuhāt Fīroz Shāhī* that the Sultān completely restored and renovated the Masjid-i-Jāmā of old Dehli which had been erected by Sultān Muiz-ud-dīn Sām and had fallen into disrepair and decay. I suppose this is the Jāma' Masjid mentioned in the text, but nothing is said in the *Fatuhāt Fīroz Shāhī*, or at least in the extracts given in Elliot Vol. III that the contents of that brochure were inscribed on it. Badāonī does not mention the *Fatuhāt Fīroz Shāhī* at all. After mentioning the death of the bādshāh he gives an account of the poets of the period. For all references to the *Fatuhāt Fīroz Shāhī* in subsequent notes see Elliot's History, vol. III.

for slight offences, and many varieties of <sup>1</sup> punishments such as the cutting off of the hand, and the foot, and the ear, and the nose, and the <sup>2</sup> blinding of the eye, and the pounding of the bones of the limbs with a <sup>3</sup> mallet. and the burning of the body with fire and driving stakes into the hands and the feet and the chest and flaying and cutting off of the sinews and tendons, and cutting the body asunder and <sup>4</sup> other varieties were very customary; and the Holy and High God gave me grace and I abolished all such acts. And the great names of the former Sultāns, by whose exertions Hind has become the home of *Islām*, which had been cast out of the *Khutbah*, I having revived those names, have reintroduced them into the *Khutbah*, so that in this way prayers for the pardon of their sins might always be said. And also some preposterous, and unauthorized cesses which some tyrants had included in the lawful revenue, and were levying every year with severity such as those for <sup>5</sup> grazing, and flower-selling, and making of indigo, and fish-selling, and cleaning of cotton, and silk-selling, and parching of rice, and *nikāhī* and, houses for the sale of liquor, and for the posts of *Dārogha*, and of *Kotwāl*, and the censor. I have set every one of these aside; for the wise have said:

<sup>1</sup> The translator of the *Fatuhāt* has 'torture.' The word in the text is تعذيب.

<sup>2</sup> کور کردن; one MS. has کندن digging out.

<sup>3</sup> مینج کوب; that with which a stake is pushed into the ground, i.e. a mallet.

<sup>4</sup> The translator of the *Fatuhāt* has in addition, pouring Molten lead into the throat.

<sup>5</sup> The actual words are چرائی و گلفروش و نیلگری و مامی فروشی و ندافی و ریسمان فروشی و نخود بریانگری و نکاحی و خمار خانه و داروغگی و کوتوالی و احتساب. For گلفروشی one MS. reads کاه فروش the selling of grass, I have not been able to find out what نکاحی is. It has been suggested that it was some kind of tax on marriages. I suppose the last three کوتوالی و داروغگی و احتساب were not levied on *daroghās*, *kotwāls* and censors, but on the people generally for the subsistence of these officers. The translator of the *Fatuhāt* gives a different list, *mandavi bark*, *dalālat-i-bazārkhā*, *jārārī*, *amīrī-tamb*, *gul-faroshī*, *jariba-i-tambol*, *changi-ghala*, *kittbī*, *bīlgārī*, *māhīfaroshī*, *sūtinkārī*, *rīsmān faro-hī*, *raughankārī*, *nakhud-biryān*, *tahbāzārī*, *jhaba*, *kimārkhāna*, *dādbankī*, *kotwālī*, *ihtisābī*, *Karhi*, *charāī*, *musadarāt*: but he does not give any translation or explanation.

Couplet : Better than treasure are hearts of friends composed ;  
 Better an empty treasury, than men in pain.

And I have decided that no revenue should be levied which is contrary to the law of the prophet on whom be peace ! And before this it was the custom, that out of the property taken from the enemy a fifth part was given to the soldier (the captor), and four shares were taken into the treasury ; and I directed, in conformity with the holy law, that a fifth part only would be taken into the treasury. And further, I cast out from my kingdom <sup>1</sup>all men of bad religion, and heretics, and promulgaters of new tenets, and hypocrites, who had become the cause of the going astray of the people ; and I abrogated and abolished their customs and habits and books. Further it had become customary with the people of the age to wear <sup>2</sup>silken garments and to use silver and gold. I prohibited all these and gave directions in consonance with the law of the prophet. Further <sup>3</sup>women both Musalman, and Kāfir,

<sup>1</sup> The words in the text are *بدمذہبان و ملحدان و مرتدیان و مرئیان*. *بدمذہب* is any man of a bad or wrong religion ; a *ملحد* is a heretic, an unbeliever, one who denies the resurrection of the dead ; a *مرتد* is a heretic, a founder of a new religion ; a *مرئی* is a hypocrite. In the *Fatuhāt*, the *بدمذہب* people are 'Shiās also called *Rawāfız*' ; the *ملحدان و ابہاتیان* were sects who are said to have met at night with their women and indulged in wine and promiscuous and incestuous intercourse ; and the *مرتدیان و مرئیان* were the followers of (1) Ahmad Sahāmī of Dehli, who called him God ; (2) Rukn-ud-dīn also of Dehli, who called him Mahdi ; and (3) of a pupil of 'Ain Māhru (عین ماعرو) who set himself up as a Sheikh in Gujrāt and collected disciples who called him God.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Fatuhāt*, the Sultān forbade the wearing of garments made of silk and gold brocades, and only allowed garments approved by the law of the prophet, with trimmings of gold brocade, embroidery or braiding not exceeding 4 inches in breadth. He also forbade the use of gold and silver vessels, at the royal table ; and ornaments of gold and jewels on his own sword-belts and quivers. He also ordered the removal of all pictures and portraits from ornamented garments and robes of honour bestowed by him, and also from all saddles, bridles, collars, censers, cups, goblets, flagons, ewers, dishes, tents, curtains, and chairs.

<sup>3</sup> The *Fatūhāt* mentions Musalman women going in palankens and on horses, etc., or in large parties on foot and being followed by rakes ; but make no mention of Kāfir women going to temples.



went to the tombs of holy men and to temples, and became the cause of a variety of disturbances. I prohibited this, and erected *masjids* in place of idol-temples. Further I repaired and rebuilt mosques, and houses dedicated to pious and charitable uses, built by former Sultāns, such as<sup>1</sup> mosques, and houses for *faqīrs*, and colleges, and wells and reservoirs, and bridges and burial places which had become dilapidated, and made endowments for their maintenance. And I made the hearts of such of the sons and heirs of the men whom my master, Sultān Muhammad, (on whom be the mercy of God!), had for the sake of punishment put to death, or whose limbs he had ordered to be cut off, by the gift of rewards and stipends, and taking from them letters cancelling the responsibility of the Sultān, and having affixed the seals of the great and noble men have placed them in the Mausoleum of the Sultān. And further whenever I heard of a recluse and a *faqīr*, I considered it my duty to go to him and to comfort his heart. Further among the soldiers and *amīrs*, whoever had attained to a great age I made them seek absolution by my counsels and precepts, and granted stipends and gifts on them, and directed them to occupy themselves with deeds for (their salvation in) the next world.

The following is a list of the buildings and other structures for pious and charitable uses founded and erected by him : water courses and canals, fifty in number ; Mosques, forty in number ; Colleges, thirty in number, houses for *faqīrs*, twenty in number ; palaces, one hundred in number, inns, two hundred in number ; towns, thirty in number ; reservoirs, one hundred in number ; hospitals, five in number ; mausoleums, one hundred in number ; public baths, ten in number ; minarets, ten in number ; wells, one hundred and fifty in number ; bridges, one hundred and fifty in number ; gardens, innumerable ; and deeds of endowment were written for each structure and remissions (of revenue), fixed for them ; and attendants and servants were appointed for all mosques, and colleges and *Khānqāhs*, and baths and wells ; and stipends were fixed for them ; and the particulars of these, are too long to note.

Further he says that they gave him poison twice and he took it

<sup>1</sup> The *Fatūhāt* gives a list of these.



ness of his youth, drowned himself in luxury and pleasure, the work of the government and the duties of the sovereignty were not attended to, and errors began to occur in the administration. Tughlaq Shāh on account of the deficiency of his experience and caution imprisoned Sālār Shāh who was his uterine brother; and Abu Bakr the son of <sup>1</sup>Zafar Khān who was his nephew became anxious and frightened, and sequestered himself and made his escape. <sup>2</sup>Malik Rukn-ud-dīn the deputy *Vazīr* and other amirs joined him and raised a revolt and they killed <sup>3</sup>Malik Mubārak Kabīr at the door of Tughlaq Shāh's <sup>4</sup>palace in Firozābād. Tughlaq Shāh knowing the violence and the large number of the rebels, left the palace with <sup>5</sup>Khān-i-Jahān by a door towards the river Jumna. Malik Rukn-ud-dīn coming there, and pursuing them, seized them, and put them to death and hung up their heads over the <sup>6</sup>same gate. This event occurred on the <sup>7</sup>21st of the month of *Safar* 791 A.H. (1389 A.D.): and the period of his *Salṭanat* was five months and three days. And God knows the truth!

#### SULTĀN ABU BAKR SHĀH.

After this event the foolish *Amīrs* raised Abu Bakr, the son of Zafar Khān, the son of Sultān Firoz on the throne and gave him the title of Abu Bakr Shāh. The post of *vazārat* was conferred

Sālār Shāh; but he mentions Abu Bakr who he says became panic-stricken, and went to his father *پدر رفت*; but neither the lith. edn. nor any of the MSS. of the *Tabaqāt* says anything about his going to his father. They say *گفته گردید از میان پدر رفت*. The word *پدر* may have been changed to *یدر*.

<sup>1</sup> He was a son of Fateh Khān.

<sup>2</sup> Badaūnī calls him Malik Ruknuddin Chanda, *Vazīr* and not deputy *Vazīr*.

<sup>3</sup> Ferishtah calls him *Amīr-ul-umara*.

<sup>4</sup> The word both in Badaūnī and in the *Tabaqāt* is *سرای*. Col. Ranking has translated it as rest house.

<sup>5</sup> Badaūnī calls him Khān-i-Jahān the *Vazīr*.

<sup>6</sup> Badaūnī says *بر دروازۀ شهر*.

<sup>7</sup> Badaūnī does not give the date and he gives 5 months and 18 days for the period of his rule. The lith. edn. of the *Tabaqāt* mentions 6 months and 18 days but the MSS. give 5 months and 3 days and from the 18th of the month of 790 A.H. the date of his accession to the 21st *Safar* 791 A.H. is 5 months and 43 days.

on Rukn-ud-dīn. After a time it came to the knowledge of Abu Bakr Shāh that Rukn-ud-dīn <sup>1</sup>*Jandah* combining with some of the Firoz Shāhī Amīrs wanted to remove him and become Bādshāh himself. Abu Bakr Shāh acting more quickly in conjunction with certain Amīrs put him to death and had him hanged <sup>2</sup>; and the group of men who had combined with him also became food for the sword. Abu Bakr Shāh having now taken possession of Dehli and got the elephants and treasures of the bādshāhs into his possession, acquired great power and ascendancy.

At this time news came that the amīrs of hundreds had killed <sup>3</sup>Sultān Shah Khushdil who was the governor of Sāmānah on the 24th of the month of Safar of that year on the bank of the reservoir of <sup>4</sup>Sunām, having stabbed and wounded him with their daggers and swords, and sacked his house and sent his head to Shāh-zadah Muhammad Shāh at Nagarkot. Sultān Muhammad Shāh marched from Nagarkot and came to Sāmānah by way of Jalandhar; and in the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal sat on the throne of empire a second time. The Amīrs of the hundreds of Sāmānah and the Zamindārs of the country at the foot of the hills paid fresh homage to him, and some of the Amīrs of Dehli also turning their faces from Abu Bakr Shāh joined him; and <sup>5</sup>twenty thousand horseman and innumerable foot soldiers gathered round him. When he marched from Sāmānah towards Dehli, and by the time he reached the neighbourhood of that city, the number of his followers amounted to fifty thousand horsemen. On the 25th of the month of Rabi-ul-ākhir, 791 A.H. (1389 A.D.) he alighted at the palace of Jahānnumā. Abu-Bakr Shāh had left his troops in Firozābād to fight with and oppose the troops of Muhammad Shāh. These troops fought with Sultān Muhammad's troops in the lanes of Firozābād on the 2nd Jamādi-ul-Awwal of that

<sup>1</sup> He is called Jandah here for the first time. Badāoni as we have seen has been calling him Chandah from the beginning.

<sup>2</sup> One MS. has *و او بجزای عمل خود رسید*, and he obtained the reward of his deeds.

<sup>3</sup> Badāoni says he had been sent against Sultān Muhammad Shāh in the country at the foot of the hills, *که بر سلطان محمد شاه در دامنه کوه نامرد شده بود*.

<sup>4</sup> Badāoni calls it the reservoir of Sāmānah.

<sup>5</sup> Badāoni gives him fifty thousand followers without specifying horsemen and foot soldiers.

year. The same day <sup>1</sup> Bahādur Nāhir came into the city with a great force, which strengthened Abu Bakr Shāh greatly. On the following day Abu Bakr Shāh arranged his troops and began a fight. Muhammad Shāh was routed and crossing the Jumna went into the Doāb. He sent Humāyūn Khān, his second son, to Sāmānah so that he might collect a force there; and he sent Malik Ziā-ul-Mulk Abu-Rajā and Rāy Kamāl-ud-dīn Mūin, and Rāy Khaljīn Bihti who were jaigirdārs of that country, and himself took up a post at <sup>2</sup> Jalesar on the banks of the river Ganges.

Some of the Firoz Shāhī Amirs such as Malik Sarwar<sup>3</sup> the *Shahna* or Superintendent of the city, and, the Malik-ush-Sharq and <sup>4</sup> Nasir-ul-Mulk governor of Multan, and Khawās-ul-Mulk the governor of Behār, and Malik Hisāmuddīn governor of Oudh and Saifuddīn and Malik Kabīr, and the sons of Hisāmuddīn, and the sons of Doulat yār, and the governor of Kanouj, and Rāy Shir and other Rāys, and fifty thousand cavalry, and many infantry joined Muhammad Shāh. He conferred the title of Khwājah-i-jahān on Malik Sarwar and made him his *Vazīr*, made Khawās-ul-Mulk, Khawās Khān, Saif-ud-dīn, Saif Khān, and Nāsir-ul-mulk, Khizr Khān, and Rāy Shir, Rāy-Rāyan. In the month of Sāfār the same year he raised his standards and marched a second time towards Dehli. A battle took place with Abu Bakr Shāh at a place called Kundli, and as the turn of sovereignty had not yet come to Sultān Muhammad, his army was defeated. Couplet:

As long as the time does not come for any deed,  
The help of no friend does thee any good.

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī calls him the *خانزادہ میواتی*. In his translation Col. Ranking calls him the Khānzādā of Miwāt. I suppose Khānzādā means prince.

<sup>2</sup> In Badāonī the place is named Chaptar or Chītar which may be a mistake for Jalesar. Col. Ranking says Ferishtah calls the place Jalesar, but he does not mention the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī.

<sup>3</sup> One MS. calls him the *شحنہ پیل شهر* the superintendent of the elephants of the city.

Badāonī says that Muhammad Shāh immediately on taking up his quarters in the palace of Jahānumā conferred offices and patents of nobility and among others he made Malik Sarwar-ul-mulk Khwājah-i-Jahān, and Malik-ush-Sharq Nāsir-ul-mulk, the governor of Multan, Khizr Khān.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī makes the Malik-ush-Sharq Nasir-ul-Mulk the governor of Multān one man (see the preceding note) and not two men.

Abu Bakr Shāh pursued him for three *karos* and then returned towards Dehli.

Muhammad Shāh again took up his station at Jalesar. In the month of Ramazān of that year Farmāns and orders were issued to the people of Multān and Lahore and other towns for the <sup>1</sup> massacre of the Firoz Shāhi slaves wherever they might be found in any *mahalla* (quarter of a town) or lane; and in most places where these orders were carried into execution a great slaughter and immense pillage and destruction occurred on that day, and a strange disturbance took place among the people; roads were closed, and houses were sacked and destroyed. Most of the raiyats of that country withheld the payment of rents and taxes, and did a great deal of disturbance.

In the month of Muharram 792 A.H. (1389-90 A.D.) Shāh-zāda Humāyun Khān with other noblemen such as <sup>2</sup> Ghālib Khān, governor of Sāmānah, and Ziā-ul-mulk, and Abu Rajā and Mubārak Khān, and <sup>3</sup> Mullahun and Shams Khān, governor of Hisār Firoza, collected a force, and came to Pānipat and devastated the country round Dehli. Abu Bakr Shāh sent Imād-ul-mulk with four thousand horse men, and a large number of foot-soldiers to oppose them; and a battle occurred in the vicinity of Pānipat. Shāhzāda Humāyūn's army was defeated, and retired in the direction of Sāmānah. As Abu Bakr Shāh had the good fortune to gain repeated victories, in the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal, of that year, he with a large and powerful army started towards Jalesar with the object of destroying Muhammad Shāh. He encamped at a place 20 *karohs* from Dehli. Muhammad Shāh leaving most of his army at Jalesar and taking with him four thousand <sup>4</sup> warlike men without giving battle to the army of Abu Bakr Shāh, betook himself to Dehli, taking the <sup>5</sup> left road. The men whom Abu Bakr Shāh had left for pro-

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī makes no mention of this.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī does not give any of the names. He only says that Humāyun Khān called together many amīrs from the frontiers of Sāmānah.

<sup>3</sup> This name is given variously in the lith. edn. and in the MSS. as ملا جون and ملا جون و ملا جون.

<sup>4</sup> با چار هزار کس. Badāonī simply says چهار هزار جو انان کار آمدنی. Ferishtah says with 4000 chosen cavalry.

<sup>5</sup> The lith. edn. has راه جب گرفته, the MSS. have راه چپ کرده or راه چپ کرده,

teecting the gates of the city fought a little. Muhammad Shāh set fire to the Badāon gate of the city, and entered it, and took up his abode in the <sup>1</sup> Humāyun palace. The inhabitants of the city, both high and low, joined Sultān Muhammad Shāh. Abu Bakr Shāh received this information, and the same day at the time of the early meal, entered the city with a great force by the same way; and having put Malik Bahā-ud-dīn Jangī, whom Muhammad Shāh had left to defend the gates, to death went towards the Humāyūn palace. Muhammad Shāh, being helpless went out by the gate of the *hariz-i-khās*, (the Sultān's reservoir) and again going back to Jalesar joined his own army. Some of the amīrs who were partisans of Muhammad Shāh, such as <sup>2</sup> Khalīl Khān Barbak and Malik Ādam, and Ismail, nephew of Sultān Firoz Shāh, were taken prisoners and were put to death; and some were killed in battle.

In the month of Ramazān of that year <sup>3</sup> Mir Hājib Sultānī became hostile to Abu Bakr Shāh and some of the slaves of Firoz Shāh, who had become amīrs, also became his enemies, and also wrote letters secretly to Muhammad Shāh. Abu Bakr Shāh became completely <sup>4</sup> powerless, and retired towards <sup>5</sup> Kotla-i-Bahādur Nāhir

Badāoni has چپ غلط کرده از راه دیگر . Col. Ranking has translated this as passing unobserved round his right flank. Ferishtah has راه چپ کرده .

<sup>1</sup> قصر همایون . Col. Ranking translates it as the palace of Humāyun. I think this incorrect and misleading. همایون is not the name of any person here. It is an adjective meaning auspicious.

<sup>2</sup> Badāoni does not give these names but says و خيلي از امرای نامي و خدمتگاران مقرب او کشته شدند , and a number of great noblemen and his special servants were put to death.

<sup>3</sup> There is much difficulty about this name. I have adopted the reading of MS. A which probably means the great chamberlain of the Sultān. The lith. edn. and MS. C has مسيرحت سلطاني; MS. B has فرحت سلطاني. MSS. D and E leave the name out altogether, and say بعضی در ماه رمضان سنه مذکور بابوکر شاه , and some of them having become hostile to Abu Bakr Shāh in the month of Ramazān of that year wrote letters, etc. Badāoni gives the name of مېشېر چې which Col. Ranking transliterates as Mubashir chap, which seems meaningless.

<sup>4</sup> The state of his great weakness is expressed both in the text and in Badāoni by the phrase بيدست و پا شده having lost hands and feet.

<sup>5</sup> Badāoni calls it Kotla-i-Miwat. Bahadur Nāhir as we have seen was

to ask for his help and left <sup>1</sup> Malik Shāhīn Imād-ul-mulk, and Malik Bahri and Safdar Khān Sultānī, in Dehli. The period of his reign was one year and six months.

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH, SON OF SULTĀN FIROZ SHĀH.

On the 16th of the said month of Ramazān the petition of Mir Hājib, and of some of the slaves of Firoz Shāh reached Muhammad Shāh, informing him that Abu Bakr Shāh with some of his partisans had gone to Kotla, and that the Khān-i-Khānān had placed Sultān Muhammad Shah's youngest son on an elephant and had the royal umbrella held over his head. On the 19th of the month of Ramazān, Muhammad Shāh arrived in Dehli and ascended the throne. He gave the post of Vazīr to <sup>2</sup> Mir Hājib Sultānī and the title of Islām Khān, and the slaves of Firoz Shāh, and all the citizens of Dehli, joined him. After a few days he came into the city from Firozābād, and took up his abode in the Humāyūn palace.

He took all the elephants which were <sup>3</sup> with the Firoz-shāhi slaves and <sup>4</sup> made them over to the former elephant-drivers. The former were dissatisfied on this account, and leaving the city fled in the course of a night, and with their wives and children went to Kotla-i-Nāhir and joined Abu Bakr Shāh. Muhammad Shāh gave

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the chief or prince of Miwāt. Col. Ranking after giving the correct meaning of Kotla (Hindi कौटला) as a small fortress goes on to say that by Kotila (sic.) of Miwāt Hardwār or a town in its vicinity given as Coupel in Rennel's map *G.m.* is meant. He gives as his authority a note in Elliot III p. 455 where because the MSS. of Zafarnāmah have کویله instead of کوتله (or کتله as in the *Malfuzāt-i-Timuri*), کوتله is somewhat arbitrarily changed into Kupilā said to be an old name for Hardwār.

<sup>1</sup> Malik Shāhīn and Imād-ul-mulk are, according to Badāonī, two separate persons, but according to the lith. edn. and the MSS. of the *Tabaqāt* they are not different persons, but the name and the title of the same man.

<sup>2</sup> See note 3, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> The word which I have translated 'with' is پیش which literally means 'before.'

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī does not mention this reason of the quarrel specifically. He simply says و حکم بقتل بندگان فیروزی که در زمان هرج و مرج باعث فتنه انگیزی بودند بطریق عموم کرد, he gave orders for the general slaughter of the Firozī slaves, who had been in the period of disturbances the cause of tumult and rebellion.



order that whoever among the Sultān's slaves might be in the city must leave it, and they should have three days to do so. The majority of them did so, and such of them as could not leave the city within the three days were seized and put to death. It is well known that some of the Sultān's slaves were caught after three days, and <sup>1</sup> for fear of death said "we are *asīls*." Muhammad Shāh ordered that whoever among you says 'Gharāgharī' is *asīl*. As they could not pronounce in the way that Muhammad Shāh wanted, and spoke with the tongue of the people of the east and Bengal they were killed; and many of the people of the east who were *asīls* (natives) and could not <sup>2</sup> speak well were also killed. After three days the city had no more slaves and Khānahzāds (slaves who were the children of slaves or were born in the house of the master) of Firoz Shāh, who had become hostile to Muhammad Shāh.

Muhammad Shāh now occupied himself with the work of the government, and collecting troops from all sides and directions became very powerful. Humāyun Khān his son who was in Sāmānah came to Dehli with a complete army and joined him; and

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī says about this و خیلی از احرار نیز از ولایت شرقیوبه غند بتقریب خامی زبان ایشان غلام دانسته زیر تیغ گذرانیدند. Col. Ranking says this passage is not intelligible in itself and quotes a passage from Ferishtah Bo. text, p. 267, which is identical with the passage in the text of the Tabaqāt to explain it. Col. Ranking was apparently not acquainted with the Tabaqāt-i-Akbārī. The explanation is not however clear in spite of what is said in the Tabaqāt or in Ferishtah. Col. Ranking says that Muhammad Shāh said that whoever among you says Kharā instead of Kharī is not a native (*asīl*) and goes on to explain that Khārī as applied to water means brackish. Natives of Eastern Bengal use the word Khārā instead of Khārī as an adjective to pā water, which is a masculine word. The objections are (1) that neither our کهر را کهری گوید nor Ferishtah says کهر را کهری گوید as they would have, if Col. Ranking's explanation was correct; (2) neither of them uses کهارا and کباری but both have کهر and کهری without the <sup>1</sup>, between کبه and ر (3) there is no reason why the people of Eastern Bengal should be such sticklers for the correct gender of the word کهارا and not those of Dehli. I am diffident about suggesting an explanation, but I think کهر or کهری was some dialect used by the *asīl* or native elephant-drivers, so that whoever could not speak or pronounce words in this dialect was adjudged to be a foreigner and not an *asīl*.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. as well as all the MSS. have و زبان خوب نمی گشت which does not make good sense. گشت may be a mistake for گفت.

Muhammad Shāh became still more powerful. He sent Humāyūn Khān with Islām Khān, and Ghālīb Khān and Rāy Kamāl-ud-dīn and Rāy Khaljī against Abu Bakr Shāh. When the army reached Kotlah Abu Bakr Shāh and Bahādur Nāhir, and the Khānāhzāds of Fīroz Shāh attacked the army of Shāhzādah Humāyūn Khān, when he was totally unprepared, on a day in the month of Muharram 793 A.H., and wounded some of the men. In the meantime Islām Khān came from one side, and at the same time the Shāhzādah having arranged his troops began the battle. At the first onset Abu Bakr Shāh with his partisans was routed, and retired into the fort of Kotlah.

When this news reached Muhammad Shāh he came to Kotlah by forced marches. Abu Bakr Shāh and Bahādur Nāhir begged for quarter, and came and did homage. Bahādur Nāhir was presented with a robe of honour and sent back. Abu Bakr Shāh was made to accompany them to *Kandī*; and from there he was separated (from the army), and sent to the fort of Mirat, and while imprisoned there he died; and Sultān Muhammad marched back towards Dehli.

In the course of that year news came of the rebellion and tyranny of Mufarrrah-i-Sultānī the governor of Gujrāt. Zafar Khan, son of Wajih-ul-mulk, was sent as governor of that province. In the year 794 A.H. (1391-92 A.D.) the news of the rebellion of <sup>1</sup>Narsingh Mazkūr and Sardādharan and Bir Bhān who were among the Zamīndārs of the Doāb came, and under the orders of the Sultān Islām Khān went to attack them. Narsingh gave battle to Islām Khān and was defeated, and a great many of the Kāfirs were slain, and the Sultān's army pursued him. At last he begged for safety and came with Islām Khān to Dehli. At this time news came that Sardādharan had attacked the town of <sup>2</sup>Balarām. The Sultān then marched against him in person, and when he reached the bank of the <sup>3</sup>black river they fled into the fort of Itāwah. The day the

<sup>1</sup> These names cannot be made out from the lith. edn. and the MSS. The names I have given are the results of guesses. The first name is either Nar Singh or Bar Singh. Badāonī has only one name Har Singhrāi, which is nearly the same as Bar Singh and Nar Singh. What Mazkūr means I do not know. It may be a mistake for the name of some Rajput clan.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. has Malakaram and the MSS. Balārām and Dilārām. Badāonī also has Balārām.

<sup>3</sup> The āb Sīyāh or the Kālāpānī, or Kālī Nadī or Kālīnī is a stream lying between the Jumna and the Ganges.

Sultān reached Itāwah, the Kāfirs after making a last dying struggle left the fort at night and fled. The next day the Sultān demolished the fort, and marched towards Kanouj, and having punished the Kāfirs of Kanouj and the Rāys of Dalmau came to Jalesar. and laying the foundation of a fort here, named it Muhammadābād.

In the month of Rajab of that year, a letter of <sup>1</sup> Khwājah-i-jahān Naib, who was in the city (Dehli) arrived, to the purport that Islām Khān intended to rebel, and to go away to the Punjab to create disturbances there. The Sultān as soon as he heard this news, came to the city with the army of Jalesar, and constituted a court and summoned Islām Khān, and directed him to explain the truth of the matter. He denied it. A Hindu of the name of Gaju, and his nephew who were among his enemies, gave false testimony in the matter. The Sultān punished Islām Khān, and conferred the post of Vazīr on Khān-i-Jahān. He sent Malik Muqarrab-ul-mulk with an army to Muhammadābād.

In the year 795 A.H. (1392-93 A.D.) the news of the revolt and insurrection of <sup>2</sup> Sar dādharan and Jit Singh Rathore and Birbhān the headman of Bhāsunhu reached the Sultān. He appointed Malik Muqarrab-ul-Mulk to suppress this rebellion. When the two sides met, Malik Muqarrab-ul-Mulk started negotiations for peace, and having satisfied the Rāys by engagements and promises made them submit and swear allegiance to the Sultān and brought them with him to Kanouj and there treacherously had them put to death. Rāy <sup>3</sup> Sir however escaped and reached Itāwah and Malik Muqarrab-ul-Mulk returned to Muhammadābād.

In the month of Shawwāl of the same year the Sultān proceeded in the direction of Miwāt, and pillaged and devastated (the coun-

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī has a single sentence about this in the Persian text, و درین سال اسلام خانرا به تهمت اراده بغی سیاست فرمود ; but in the English translation even this is omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī does not name any of the rebels. He calls them collectively the متمردان ولایت اتاوه, which Col. Ranking translates as the mutineers in the district of Itāwah. The names I have got are the best guesses that I could make after collating the lith. edn. and the MSS. The name of the place of which Birbhān was the headman may be anything from Bhu or Su to Phāsulothu or Bhāsunhu.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. and all the MSS. call him Sir or Sar. I wonder whether he is the same as Sardādharan.

try); and going from Muhammadābād to Jalesar, there fell ill. At this time news was brought that Bahādur Nāhir had attacked some places near Dehli, and had caused damage. The Sultān in spite of his weakness marched towards Miwāt. When he reached Kotlah, Bahādur Nāhir came and confronted him, but being defeated took shelter in Kotlah; but as he could not maintain himself there he fled and went to<sup>1</sup> Jar Jar. The Sultān came to Muhammadābād to superintend the erection of buildings which he had commenced, and at this time his illness increased. In the month of Rabi'-ul-āwwal 796 A.H. (1393-94 A.D.) he appointed Shāhzādah Humāyūn Khān to lead an army against Sheikhā Khokar who had revolted and taken possession of the fort of Lahore. The Shāhzādah was about to march towards Lahore, when on the 17th of the month of Rabi'-ul-āwwal of that year the news of the<sup>2</sup> death of the Sultān came; and the Shāhzādah waited in the city. The reign of Sultān Muhammad Shāh extended to six years and seven months.

#### SULTĀN 'ALĀ'UDDĪN SIKANDĀR SHĀH.

(He was) the second son of Sultān Muhammad Shāh who had borne the title of Humāyūn Khān. When Sultān Muhammad Shāh died, he performed the rites of mourning for three days; and then on the 19th Rabi'-ul-āwwal of that year he ascended the throne by the consent of the amirs, and maliks, and Saiyads and qāzis, and the great men of the city (Dehli). He appointed Khwājah-i-Jahān to be his Vazīr; and he confirmed all the officers in their appointments. On the fifth day of the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal of the same year he became ill and<sup>3</sup> died. Couplet:

<sup>1</sup> The name of the place cannot be made out. The lith. edn. has در جز خرید and the MSS. have در جز در آمد, and در جز خرید and در جز خرید.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says در خطیر پدر بکنار حوض خاص مدفون شد, which Col. Ranking translates, 'and was buried in the Mausoleum of his father on the bank of the Hauz-i-Khās.' This latter was a reservoir constructed by Firoz Shāh. It is said in the Zafar-nāma of Yazdi to be "so large that an arrow cannot be shot from one side to the other. It is filled by rain in the rainy season and the people of Dihli obtain water from it all the year round. The tomb of Firoz Shāh is by its side." (Elliot III.)

<sup>3</sup> He was buried beside his father and grandfather on the edge of the Hauz-i-Khās.

What is fortune and wealth, Sir ! if fate is not thy friend !  
None can eat at this table but his allotted share !

The period of his reign was one month and sixteen days. And God alone knows all.

SULTĀN MAHMŪD SHĀH (youngest son of Muhammad Shāh).

When Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn passed away, most of the amīrs such as Ghā Khān, Governor of Sāmānah, and Rāy Kamāl-ud-dīn Mu'in, and Mubārak Khān Halāju, and Khawās Khān, Governor of Anderi and Karnā' left the city and wanted to go away to their jāgirs, without taking leave of Sultān Mahmūd. Khān-i-Jahān receiving information of this, and having given them hopes of favour brought them into the city, and on the 20th day of the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal of that year by the help of the amīrs and the maliks and the great men of the city he ascended the throne in the Humāyūn palace and received the title of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh. He confirmed Khwājah-i-Jahān in the post of Vazīr; and conferring on Muqarrab-ul-Mulk the title of Muqarrab Khān made him his <sup>1</sup> heir; and bestowing the title of S'adat Khān on 'Abdur Rashid Sultānī made him the Bārbegī (the chamberlain); and Malik Sārang received the title of Sārang Khān, and was made the Governor of Dibālpur; and the title of Doulat Khān was conferred on Malik Daulatyār Dabīr, and he was made the <sup>2</sup> Ariz-i-Mumālīk which was formerly the post of 'Imad-ul-Mulk.

As the affairs of <sup>3</sup> furthest Hindustān, i.e. Jaunpūr and the country round it had passed out of control on account of the violence of the zamindars, the Sultān made over the country from <sup>4</sup> Kanouj to Behar

<sup>1</sup> Ferishtah says he was made Vakīl-us-Saltanat and Amīrul-Umrā

<sup>2</sup> 'The عارضی ممالک was the pay-master of the forces. He had to bring all who sought employment or promotion before the Sultān and to explain the facts of his case. He was afterwards called the Bakhshī, see Irvino "The Army of the Indian Moghals," p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> The various readings are میان and پایان and رایان هندوستان. The last is manifestly incorrect as the Rāys could not be Jaunpūr and that neighbourhood. The correct reading, I think, is پایان meaning the furthest part.

<sup>4</sup> This agrees generally with the Persian text of Badā'oni where it is said خواجه جهان را سلطان الشرق مخاطب ساخته از قنوج تا بهار و مکه و بمبئ

to Khwājah Sarwar, who had been made Khwājah-i-Jahān, and whom Sultān Muhammad had nominated to be the Governor of Jaunpūr, conferring on him the title of Sultān-ush-Sharq, and in the month of Rajab 796 A.H., sent him with 20 elephants and a powerful army to that country. The Sultān-ush-Sharq acquired great power in those districts and subjugated the <sup>1</sup>zamīndārs and brought them under control. He rebuilt some of the <sup>2</sup>fortresses which they had demolished. The Rāy of Jājnagar and the bādshāh of Lakhnauti sent to him the presents and the tribute which they had every year sent to Sultān Fīroz Shāh.

The same year <sup>3</sup>Sārang Khān was despatched under the orders of the Sultān to bring Dībālpur under control, and to suppress the disturbances caused by Sheikhā Khokhar; and having reached Dībālpur in the month of Sh'abān of that year, and having put his army in good order, he, in the month of Ziqādah of the year 796 A.H. (1393-94 A.D.) marched towards Lahore taking with him Rāi Khaljī Behti, and Rāi Dā'ud, and Kamāl Murīn and the army of Multān; and when he arrived near that city, Sheikhā Khokhar met him with a complete force, fully equipped for battle, and at a <sup>4</sup>place twelve *Karohs* from Lahore the two armies met and a battle took place. A breeze of victory and triumph blew over the standard of Sārang Khān; and Sheikhā Khokhar being routed retired to the hills of Jamun. The following day Sārang Khān took possession of the fort of Lahore and leaving Malik Kandhu, his brother, to whom he gave the title of 'Adil Khān there, came himself to Dībālpur.

اقتدار او باز گذاشته رخصت باینجانب فرمود which means that he was made governor of the whole country from Kanouj to Behar. Col. Ranking however incorrectly translates the passage and says "and transferred him from Qanouj to Behar with full powers," etc.

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī says he went as far as Jājnagar.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says that the fortresses which he rebuilt were in the districts of Karra, Oudh, Sandila, Malūta, Bahraich and Tirhut. Malūta may be a mistake for Dalnau. Col. Ranking says one MS. has دملوا and his Persian text has a redundant و ملوتا و ملوتا. The و may be a mistake for د.

<sup>3</sup> According to Badāonī (both Persian text and translation) Sārang Khān was sent by the Sultān-ush-Sharq; but the latter apparently had nothing whatever to do with his appointment.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī calls the place ساموتله which should, I think, be transliterated as Sāmothla. Col. Ranking makes it Sāmothala.

In the month of Sha'bān of the aforesaid year, Sultān Mahmūd Shāh marched towards Gwālīār and Biānah taking S'ādat Khān with him and leaving Muqarrab Khān with some elephants and some <sup>1</sup>troops of the special regiments in the city. <sup>2</sup>When the Sultān reached the neighbourhood of Gwālīār Malik 'Alā-ud-dīn Dharval, and <sup>3</sup>Mubārak Khān and the son of Malik Rāju and Mallu brother of Sārang Khān conspired against S'ādat Khān. The latter receiving information of this seized Malik 'Alā-ud-dīn and Mubārak Khān and put them to death. Mallu fled and went to Muqarrab Khān in Dehli. The Sultān returned with great speed and came to <sup>4</sup>Dehli. Muqarrab Khān hastened to receive him, and as he noticed some displeasure in his mind owing to Mallu having come to him, he <sup>5</sup>got into the city by deceit and stratagem and raised the standard of hostility. The Sultān with S'ādat Khān besieged the city for three months and skirmishes took place everyday. For three months <sup>6</sup>this state of things continued. During this time <sup>7</sup>some of the well-wishers of Muqarrab Khān de-

۱ . جمعی از خامه خیل .

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says that a spacious mosque مسجد جامع was built of stone by the Sultān when he was marching to Gwālīār at a place called Basūr, which was still standing in his time.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī makes Mubārak Khān the son of Malik Rāju but the lith. edn. and the MSS. all have a و between the words مبارک خان and the words پسر ملک راجو . He also calls Mallu, Mallu Khān.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī says در سواد شهر فرود آمد , which Col. Ranking translates 'encamped at some distance from the city.'

<sup>5</sup> Badāonī says حصارى شد , i.e. he entrenched himself.

<sup>6</sup> The lith. edn. says تا سه ماه اینصبر صحبت گرم بود ; all the MSS. say تا سه ماه این صحبت گرم بود ; the meaning is not clear. The literal meaning is for three months this companionship remained warm. Did the author wish to be mildly humorous! I have given a somewhat free translation.

<sup>7</sup> Col. Ranking says that the account given by Badāonī is unsatisfactory and quotes from Ferishtah Bo. text, p. 279, to clear up matters. It does not appear however, that there is much difference between Badāonī and the account given in the text and that given by Ferishtah. The only differences are that Ferishtah says, (1) That Muqarrab Khān became alarmed at the splendour and array of the royal court, because of his having given asylum to Mallu Khān and fled to the city and (2) Sultān Mahmūd recognised that the fighting was all due to S'ādat Khān and he joined Muqarrab Khān at the instigation of his own intimates. As regards (1) there is no reason why Muqarrab Khān should be

ceived the Sultān and brought him into the city, but the elephants and horses and other paraphernalia of the empire remained with S'ādat Khān. Muqarrab Khān feeling stronger on account of the coming of the Sultān came out of the city with the intention of giving battle, but being defeated again took shelter in the fort. When S'ādat Khān saw that the capture of the fort of Dehli was difficult, and the rains had commenced, he left the vicinity of the city and went to Firozābād, and acting in concert with his partisans, sent for Nasrat Shāh, son of Fateh Khān, son of Firoz Shāh who was in Miwāt, and in the month of Rabi'-ul-āwwal of that year, placed him on the throne at Firozābād and gave him the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn Nasrat Shāh.

When Nasrat Khān's amirs saw that he was nothing more than a puppet, they by means of deceptions and tricks separated him from S'adat Khān, and a number of them attacked S'ādat Khān, who was taken by surprise. He, being unable to withstand them, went to Dehli, and joined Muqarrab Khān, and that traitor treacherously seized him and put him to death. The Nasrat Shāhi amirs such as Muhammad Muzaffar and Shahāb Nāhir and Fazl-ul-lāh Balkhi and the Firoz Shāhi slaves all renewed their allegiance to Nasrat Shāh. Muhammad Muzaffar was made <sup>1</sup> Vakil-i-Mumālīk and received the title of Tātār Khān. Shahāb Nāhir was made Shahāb Khān, and Fazl-ul-lāh Balkhi, Qutlugh Khān. And between Dehli and Firozābād there were two bādshāhs. Muqarrab Khān left Bahādur Nāhir with a great force in the fort of old Dehli, and he entrusted the outer fort to Mallu whom he gave the title of Iqbāl Khān. There were skirmishes and battles everyday between Dehli and Firozābād, and the two sides were generally on a footing of equality. Some of the parganās in the Doāb, and Pānīpat and <sup>2</sup> Sonpat and Ruhtak and Jhajar upto twenty *Karohs* from Dehli remained in the

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alarmed at the splendour of the court. He was probably quite accustomed to it. As regards (2) both Badāonī and our author says that Mahmūd Shāh was deceived by some partisans of Muqarrab Khān and there is no reason why they should be disbelieved and preference should be given to a much later historian.

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. has *Vakil*; the MSS. except one, which has *Vakil Vazir*, have *Vazir*.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. and one MS. has سن پت, the other MSS. have سن پت. Badāonī gives the names of all the places except Sunpat and he has سنبل Samba in addition.



possession of Nasrat Shāh, while Mahmūd Shāh had no place but the fort of Dehli, and the 'treasury. Each of the amīrs and maliks of these two hādshāhs, taking possession of a province aspired to independence, and became rulers and kings on their own account; and for three years the affairs of the country remained in this state. Hemistich. Distraction seizes a land that has two kings.

In the year 798 A.H. (1395 A.D.) Sārang Khān, the governor of Dibalpur and Lahore, who had in fact been appointed by Mahmūd Shāh became hostile to Khizr Khān, the governor of Multān. Some of the slaves of Malik Behti joined Sārang Khān. The latter gaining strength seized Multān. And in the month of Ramazān in the year 799 A.H. (1396 A.D.) attacked Ghālib Khān who was the governor of Sāmānah on the side of Nasrat Shāh. Ghālib Khān gave him battle, and being defeated came to Tātār Khān at Pānipat. Nasrat Shāh hearing this <sup>2</sup>news sent ten elephants and some troops to reinforce Tātār Khān. On the 15th day of Muharram in the year 800 A.H. (1377 A.D.) a battle took place near the town of Kotlah. Sārang Khān was defeated and retired towards Multān. Malik <sup>3</sup>Almās took possession of Sāmānah and made it over to Ghālib Khān and <sup>4</sup>pursued Sārang Khān as far as Talwandī and returned.

In the month of Rabi'-ul-āwwal Mirza Pir Muhammad, grandson

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. has تهرانه, the MSS. have خزانة. I have adopted the reading of the MSS. though خزانة can scarcely be called a place. Badāonī says وحصاری چند وبران کهنه چون دہلی و سیر و غیران در قبض سلطان محمود ماند, i.e. and a few forts, in ruins and old, such as Dehli and Sīrī, etc., remained in the possession of Sultān Mahmūd; and he also quotes the proverb حکم خداوند عالم از دہلی تا پالم, i.e. the rule of the lord of the world is from Dehli to Pālam.

<sup>2</sup> There are different readings این خیر را و این را و انرا.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. and all the MSS. have ملک العالم Malik Almās. The Persian text of Badāonī has الملك Almās, but Col. Ranking has Ilyas in the English translation; and in a note says "MS. (A) الیاس,". Ferishtah has ملک الیاس Malik Ilyas.

<sup>4</sup> The lith. edn. and one MS. have و تا تلوندی تعاقب او نموده قانار خان مراجعت نمود. The other MSS. have و تا تلوندی تعاقب او نموده مراجعت نمود. It is not clear whether Malik Almās was in command or Tātār Khān. Badāonī says Tātār Khān proceeded to the frontier of Talwandī and sending Kharshid Khan Mahmūd in pursuit of Sārang Khān returned.

of the Amīr <sup>1</sup>Sāhib Qirān Taimur Gurgān crossed the river <sup>2</sup>Indus, and besieged the fort of Uchh. Malik 'Alī who was the governor of Uchh on behalf of Sārang Khān, entrenched himself and for a month did <sup>3</sup>his best to defend himself. Sārang Khān sent <sup>4</sup>Malik Tāj-ud-dīn Nāib with four thousand brave horsemen to aid and reinforce Malik 'Alī. Mirza Pīr Muhammad becoming aware of this left the fort, and advancing to meet the enemy suddenly fell upon him. Malik Tāj-ud-dīn was routed and Mirzā Pīr Muhammad following close on his heels, besieged the fort of Multān. The warfare went on for six months, and there were battles everyday. At last he begged for quarter and went and did homage to Mirzā Pīr Muhammad. The latter after the capture of Multān waited for a few days in those parts.

In the month of Shawwāl of that year <sup>5</sup>Iqbāl Khān went to Nasrat Shāh and they entered into an engagement in the tomb of Sheikh Qutb-ud-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, may God make his grave holy ! with the holy words (the qurān) between them, and he took Nasrat Shāh into the citadel of <sup>6</sup>Jahānpanāh. Mahmūd Shāh with Muqurrah Khān and Bahādur Nāhir remained entrenched in old Dehli. On the third day (after that) Iqbāl Khān, making Nasrat Shāh careless by deceit and treachery, tried to seize him. Nasrat Shāh in a helpless condition came out of the citadel and betook himself to Firozābād,

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<sup>1</sup> **فران** means the conjunction of two beneficent planets, Jupiter, the Lord of felicity and Venus. Taimur was called Sāhib-i-qirān as he was born under such a conjunction. Col. Ranking has translated it by the word great. Gurgān, according to note 1, p. 353, Vol. 1, of Col. Ranking's translation of Badāonī means a son-in-law or a prince allied by marriage with some mighty monarch. The author of the Tabaqāt always calls him **حسرت صاحب قرانی**.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishtah says 'by a bridge of boats.'

<sup>3</sup> **دست و پا زد** beat out his hands and feet, i.e. struggled in vain.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī calls him Malik Tāj-ud-dīn Bakhtiyār and says he had only 1,000 horsemen.

<sup>5</sup> Badāonī says **مشهور بملو**, i.e. better known as Mallu.

<sup>6</sup> Badāonī both Persian text and translation has Jahān-numā but it is said in a note that one of the MSS. has Jahān-panāh but as Ferishtah has Jahān-numā Col. Ranking has adopted that reading. The lith. edn. and all the MSS of the Tabaqāt have Jahān-panāh. This was the name given to the central portion of the triple citadel of Dehli, connecting old Dehli with Sirī. See Elliot III, p. 448. Jahān-numā was a palace.

but did not stay there also and went to <sup>1</sup> Tātār Khān (his) Vazīr; and Firozābād came into the possession of Iqbāl Khān. Muqarrab Khān then took shelter in the citadel of Jahānpanāh and attended to his own safety. <sup>2</sup> Iqbāl Khān collecting a force attacked the house of Muqarrab Khān by surprise, and <sup>3</sup> refusing to give him quarter put him to death. He did not however cause any injury to Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, and making him a puppet managed the affairs of the State himself.

In the month of Ziqādeh of that year he marched to Pānīpat to attack Tātār Khān. The latter leaving a force with some elephants in the fort marched towards Dehli by another route. After three days the fort of Pānīpat was captured and the elephants and equipage of Tātār Khān came into the possession of Iqbāl Khān. Although he tried his best Tātār Khān was unable to capture Dehli, and on hearing of the capture of Pānīpūt he <sup>4</sup> became helpless and went to his father in Gujrat. Iqbāl Khān came to Dehli and he conferred the title of 'Ādil Khān on Nasir-ul Mulk who was a partisan of his own, but who was a relation of Tātār Khān, and had been the cause of his going to Pānīpat to attack the latter, and placed Sāmānah as far as the Doāb under his charge, and he laid the foundation of his rule with solidity.

<sup>1</sup> According to Badāonī he was at Pānīpat.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. and all the MSS. read as above but it is clear that there is some omission here. Badāonī is clearer, he says تمام حشم و فیل نصرت شاهي بدست اقبال خان مدبر افتاد، و تا مدت دو ماه میان مقرب خان و اقبال خان هر روز جنگ و جدال بود، و بعضی امرا در میان در امدت این هر دو سردار را با یکدیگر صلح دادند و بعد از چند روزی اقبال خان بر سر مقرب خان رفته حوائی او را بیک ناگه بمحاصره کرد و امان داده او را بدرجۀ شهادت رسانید ; i.e. the whole of the army and elephants of Nasrat Shāh fell into the hands of the astute Iqbāl Khān, and for two whole months daily battles were fought between Muqarrab Khān and Iqbāl Khān, until by the intervention of certain Amīrs, peace was established between these two leaders, but after a few days Iqbāl Khān proceeded against Muqarrab Khān, and without warning suddenly surrounded him and besieged him; and after giving him assurances of safety raised him to the dignity of martyrdom.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. and most of the MSS. say امان نداده. One MS. like Badāonī says امان داده.

<sup>4</sup> The lith. edn. and all the MSS. say بی پاشده His father was Zafar Khān. According to Badāonī he went to his father با جمعیت ابنوه i.e. with a great following.

In the month of Safar 801 A.H. (1378 A.D.) news came that the great Amīr Taimūr Gurgān having attacked <sup>1</sup> Talambah had arrived in Multān: and he put to death all those whom Mīrza Pīr Muhammad had taken prisoner. Iqbāl Khān became <sup>2</sup> frightened on hearing this news, and began to collect and equip his troops. Amīr Taimūr (or Hazrat Sāhib Qirānī) marching from Multān, besieged the fort of <sup>3</sup> Bhatnīr, and having made Rai <sup>4</sup> Khāljin Behti prisoner, put all the people who had taken shelter in the fort to death, and from that place he overran the districts of Sāmānah, and a number of men from Dibālpūr and <sup>5</sup> Ajodhan and Sarsuti fled from those places and came to Dehli, and most of the people were taken prisoner and slain. The Amīr Sāhib Qirān leaving that place and being guided by fortune and his high destiny came to the country of the Doāb; and having plundered the country and taken the <sup>6</sup> people captive, encamped in the town of <sup>7</sup> Lūnī. People say that between the river Indus and the river Ganges about fifty thousand people were taken captive and an enormous number were killed; and a number of people fled into <sup>8</sup> the hilly country.

In the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal of the year 801 A.H. he crossed the Jumna and encamped at Firozābād, and on the following day he

<sup>1</sup> Situated at the junction of the Jhelum and Chenab rivers.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. and all the MSS. except one have **وعم ناک**; the remaining MS. has **عم ناک**.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the place is given differently from **بھیرا** Bhirā or Bahirā to **بھتیر** Bhatnīr. Badāonī has Bhat but Col. Ranking says one MS. has **بھتیر** which he says should be Bhatnīr.

<sup>4</sup> The lith. edn. and two of the MSS. have **رای خلجین**; the others have **رای دولجین**. Badāonī calls him **جلجین** Jaljīn. The Bo. text of Ferishtah calls him **راو خلجی** Rāo Khālji. The Malfuzāt-Taimūrī calls him **راو دولجین** Rāo Dulehain. Badāonī says he was also put to death but the Tabaqāt does not explicitly say so.

<sup>5</sup> Ajodhan is Pākpatan. It contains the tomb of Sheikh Farīd-ud-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, which was visited by Taimūr.

<sup>6</sup> The lith. edn. and the MSS. all say **اکثر جاها را تاراج و اسیر کرده**. Probably the words **خلايق را** have been omitted before **اسیر کرده**.

<sup>7</sup> Lūnī was 7 miles N.N.W. of Dehli on a doāb between the Jumna and the Halīm. Taimūr arrived there on the 27th Rabi'-ul-āwwal.

<sup>8</sup> Two of the MSS. say **در کوهها در آمده مخفی شدند** coming into the hilly country concealed themselves.

arrived on the bank of the Hauz-i-khās. Iqbāl Khān coming out of the city made a last dying effort, but at the first charge he was routed by the heroes of the victorious army; and vast numbers were trodden down and others were killed and taken captive; and most of his elephants and equipages fell into the hands of the great Taimūr; when night approached <sup>1</sup>Mallu Khān abandoning his family and children went to the town of <sup>2</sup>Baran; and Sultān Mahmūd taking a few of his servants <sup>3</sup>and special adherents took the road to Gujrāt. On the following day the great Sāhib Qirānī gave quarter to the citizens of Dehli; and appointed men to collect the price of the quarter he had granted. By accident a few of the citizens on account of the harshness of some of the collectors refused to pay, and slew some of the latter. This became the cause of the bursting out of the flames of the wrath of the great Taimūr; and he gave orders for the slaughter and capture of the inhabitants of the city. During that day an immense number were killed and taken captive; but in the end the royal clemency drew the pen of forgiveness over the guilt of the citizens, and he proclaimed quarter and protection to them. After

<sup>1</sup> With the downfall of his fortune he ceased to be Iqbāl Khān and became Mallu Khān. The lith. edn. and two of the MSS. give him that name. The other MSS. have the pronoun *او*.

<sup>2</sup> Baran is the modern Bulandshahar.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. and one MS. has *نزدیکان* the other MSS. have *نزدیکان* i.e. the one near him.

<sup>4</sup> According to Badkōnī it was the intercession of Sheikh Ahmad Kathū which evoked the clemency. He says روز چهارم حکم بند عام فرمود و همه را بجانب خود ماوراءالنهر بود تا عافیت شیخ احمد که توبه روزی او در سرخیز کجرات فرستاد با محمدان مشهور است همراه انلشکر رفقه صاحب قوانی را دیده حالت درویشی و فضیلت علم خود را ظاهر ساخت و با علما و فضائی عسکر ماوراءالنهر بحثها کرده الزام داد و شفاعت اسیران نمود و صاحبقوانی را نسبت باو اعتقاد تمام پیدا شد و علمتس او را قبول کرد و همه بندانوا خلاص داد which means that on the fourth day he ordered all the inhabitants to be made prisoners, and took them all off towards Transoxiana. Eventually Shakh Ahmad Kathū whose tomb is well known at Sar Khān in Gujrāt near Ahmadābād went along with the army, and had an interview with the great Taimūr and made apparent to him his condition as a Darseshan, the greatness of his learning and he had many discussions with the learned men accompanying the Transoxianan army and confuted them and attended for the prisoners, and the great Taimūr became a firm believer in him, and accepting his representations he released all the prisoners.

some days Khizr Khān who had escaped into Miwāt asked for safe conduct and came with Bahādur Nāhir, and Mubārak Khān and Vazīr Khān and rendered homage to Taimūr. The latter ordered all of them, except Khizr Khān,<sup>1</sup> whom he knew to be a Saiyad and a pious man, to be taken prisoner; and raising his standards for the return journey started by a route along the foot-hills; and the <sup>2</sup>heights of the country at the foot of the Sivalik hills were rendered low by the trampling of the feet of the victorious army.

When he reached Lahore he by means of a stratagem seized Sheikhā Khokar (who had on account of the enmity which he bore to Sārang Khān had entered the service of Taimūr, and had become his guide and well wisher, and had by means of fraud taken possession of Lahore), with all his family and adherents, and pillaged and sacked Lahore. He made over Multān and Dibālpūr to Khizr Khān and marched away to Samarkand by way of Kabul.

For two months Dehli <sup>3</sup>was in ruins. In the month of Rajab of the aforementioned year, Nasrat Shāh, who after watching Iqbāl Khan, had gone into the Doāb, went with a small force to Mirat, and Ādil Khan with his own troops and four elephants joined him, and the men who escaping from the Mughals were in the Doāb also joined him. And he came to Firozābad with two thousand horsemen; and took possession of Dehli which was still in ruins. Shahāb Khān came from Miwāt with ten elephants and a well-equipped army. Malik <sup>4</sup>Almās came from the Doāb. When the forces increased in number Nasrat Shāh sent Shahāb Khān against Iqbāl Khān who was in Baran. On the way some zamindārs at the instigation of Iqbāl Khān made a surprise attack by night; and Shahāb Khān becoming a martyr, his forces were scattered, and his equipage and elephants fell into the hands of Iqbāl Khān. The latter gained

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī says he spared Khizr Khān because the latter ظامرا سابقہ خدمتی داشت which Col. Ranking translates who had apparently done some former good service.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī compares the effect of the march of the army to that of an earthquake.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī says there was a famine and pestilence and the inhabitants who were left died.

<sup>4</sup> Some of the MSS. have ملك الياس Malik Ilyās.

strength and power day by day, turned towards Dehli and Nasrat Shāh being unable to meet him left Firozābād and retired into <sup>1</sup> Miwāt; and Dehli came into the possession of Iqbāl Khān. The people who for fear of the Mughal had left Dehli and gone to various places, came back within a short time; and Hisār Sirī again became populous.

Iqbāl Khān was in possession of the country of the Doāb, and the environments of the city, and the whole country of India remained in the possession of <sup>2</sup> different nobles. Gujrāt was in the possession of Zafar Khān and his son Tātār Khān. Saiyad Khizr Khān had Multān and Dibālpūr with parts of Sīnd. Mahoba and Kālpī were in the hands of Mahmūd Khān son of Malikzādah Firoz. Khwājeh Jahān Sultān-ush-Sharq was in possession of Kanouj and Oudh and Dalmau, and Sandila, and Bahrāich, and Behār and Jaumpūr; Dilāwar Khān had Mālwa; and Ghālib Khān had Sāmānah, and Shams Khān Auhadi had Biānah; and each one of them aspired to be independent, and none of them owned submission to any one else.

In the month of Rabī'ul-āwwal 802 A.H. (1399 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched towards Biānah and Shams Khān came and <sup>3</sup> opposed him, but being defeated retired into the fort of Biānah and <sup>4</sup> his elephants fell into (Iqbāl Khān's) hands. He then marched towards Kaithar which is the well-known country round Badāūn, and after receiving tribute from Rāy <sup>5</sup> Narsingh returned towards Dehli. The same year Khwājeh-i-Jahān <sup>6</sup> died in Jaumpūr and Malik Mubārak

<sup>1</sup> Qaranful who was his adopted son was made Sultan in his place, and received the title of Sultān Mubārak Shāh and the territories of Khwājah-i-Jahān came into his possession.

In the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal in the year 803 A.H. (1400 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched against Mubārak Shāh Sharqī; and Shams Khān governor of Bīnah, and <sup>2</sup> Mubarak Khān and Bahadur Nāhir accompanied him as his allies, and when they reached the town of <sup>3</sup> Baitali on the bank of the Ganges, Ray Sir and all the Zamīndārs of that country came forward and after a conflict were routed and retired to Itawāh, and Iqbāl Khān went to Kanouj. Mubārak Shāh now came forward and for two months they opposed each other on the bank of the river Ganges. At last they came to terms and returned. On the way Iqbāl Khān became suspicious of Mubārak Khān, and Shams Khān Auhadi and seized them both by fraud and treachery, and put them to death. The same year Taghī Khān Turk bachah, the son-in-law of Ghālib Khān, the governor of Sāmānah with a large army attacked Khizr Khān, and on the 9th of the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year the parties met at Ajodhan which is celebrated as the Patan of Sheikh Farīd, and after a conflict and battle Taghī Khān was routed and retired to the town of <sup>4</sup> Bhaudar. Ghālib Khān and other Amirs who were with him seized Taghī Khān and put him to death. And in the year 804 A.H. (1401 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd who for fear of Taimūr, had retired to Gujrāt, and after the departure of the latter had come to Dhār and stayed there, after the

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī calls him Qaranqal. The lith. edn. and the majority of the MSS. give him the name I have adopted. Col. Ranking in a note says he was Khwājeh-i-Jahān's adopted son Malik Wāsil.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī calls Mubārak Khān (who is of course to be distinguished from Mubārak Shāh Sharqī) the son of Bahādur Nāhir, مبارک خان بن بهادر ناہر in the Persian text, but neither the lith. edn. nor any of the MSS. of the *Tabaqāt* says that they were related in this way.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī says that the town was on the Blackwater کنار آب سیاہ کہ بکالا. Col. Ranking says in a note that the Kālāpāni is the Kālīnadi or Kālīni (Hunter Imp. Gaz. VII, p. 327) lying between the Jumna and the Ganges. Taimūr calls it the Karāsū (Blackwater) Elliot 14, p. 452. Ferishtah however says کہ کنار نہر گنگی است which Briggs translates which is on the Ganges.

<sup>4</sup> The name is variously given in the lith. edn. and in the MSS. as , بهودر بہودر, Badāonī Persian text has بهوہر. Col. Ranking has Bhūhar.



restoration of safety came back from Dhār to Dehli. Iqbāl went forward to welcome him and placed him in the Humāyūn palace in <sup>1</sup> Jahānpanāh. But as the reins of the sovereignty and rule were in his hands he behaved with hypocrisy towards the Sultān. The latter taking Iqbāl Khān with him started toward Kanouj; and while they were on their way, news came that Mubārak Shāh Sharqī had died and Sultān Ibrāhīm his brother had taken his place. Sultān Mahmūd having resolved to seize Jaunpūr made an attempt to do so. Sultān Ibrāhīm also with a well equipped army and elephants of the size of mountains came forward and opposed him; and for a few days brave warriors belonging to the two armies fought together. As Sultān Mahmūd had great <sup>2</sup> suspicion and fear of Iqbāl Khān, and considered Sultān Ibrāhīm to be his servant and born and bred in his family,<sup>3</sup> one night he left his own army and alone and unattended went to Sultān Ibrāhīm's army; and as the latter on account of his want of breeding and ingratitude did not perform the rites of hospitality and service. Sultān Mahmūd did not stay there also on account of the incivility he was treated with; and came to Kanouj, and having expelled <sup>4</sup> Shah Zādah Hariwī who was the governor under the Sharqia kingdom, took possession of the city. Iqbāl Khān went away towards Dehli and Sultān Ibrāhīm also returned to Jaunpūr. All the inhabitants of Kanouj, high and low, joined Sultān Mahmūd, and the slaves and all his adherents who had become scattered came from all places, and he contented himself with Kanouj.

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. has جهاننامی; all the MSS have جهاننما. Badāonī has کوشک جهان نما.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says, Sultān Mahmūd had hostility to Iqbāl Khān in his heart کینه او را در دل داشت on account of his being, in possession of the paraphernalia of sovereignty, اسباب سلطنت.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī has a different account, he says سلطان محمود پیش از شروع در جنگ و جدال به بهانه تکرار از لشکر اقبال خان برآمده با سلطان ابوالیم ملاقات کرد و سلطان ابوالیم با او باحفظت پیش آمد i.e. and Sultān Mahmūd before the commencement of conflict and war left the army of Iqbāl Khān on the pretext of going on a hunting excursion and went and met Sultān Ibrāhīm and the latter treated him with great discourtesy.

<sup>4</sup> The name is given in the lith. edn. and in the MSS. as سرنودی. سرنودی, Badāonī calls him فتح خان سرنودی and Col. Ranking Fatch Khan Saranodi.

In the month of Jamādi-ul-awwal 805 A.H. (1402 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched towards Gwālīār, and <sup>1</sup> (besieged) the fort of Gwālīār which at the time of the arrival of the army of Taimūr had gone out of the possession of the Sultāns of Dehli and had come into the hands of Ray Narsingh, and after his death into those of his son Bīram Deo, but as it was extremely strong he could not take it, so he devastated the districts round it and went back to Dehli. The next year he again marched to Gwālīār. Bīram Deo came forward to meet him, and fought a battle in front of the fort of Dholpūr but was defeated and retired into the fort. When night came he vacated the fort and went towards Gwālīār. Iqbāl Khān pursued him as far as the fort of Gwālīār, and having carried out the procedure of pillage and destruction, came back to Dehli.

In the year 806 A.H. (1403 A.D.) news came that Tātār Khān the son of Zafar Khan, Governor of Gujrat, had removed his father from Amīrship and his government, and had given himself the title of <sup>2</sup> Nāsiruddīn Muhammad Shah.

In the year 807 A.H. (1404 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched out to subdue the Zamindārs of the country of Itāwah, and <sup>3</sup> Rāy Sarwar and the Rāy of Gwālīār and Rāy Jālhār and other Rāys fortified themselves in Itāwah, and for four months carried on a warfare, but in the end made peace, agreeing to give every year four elephants and the amount which the Rāy of Gwālīār used to send to the ruler of Dehli. In the month of Shawwāl of the aforesaid year, Iqbāl Khān went to Kanouj and besieged Sultān Mahmūd and although he fought many engagements, he gained nothing, and had to return without achieving his object. And in the month of Muharram

<sup>1</sup> The sentence appears to me to be incomplete in the lith. edn. and in all the MSS. I have ventured to insert the words محاصره كرد (besieged) in order to complete it. The names of Nar Singh and Bīram are Bar Singh and Nar Singh and Bīram and Param in the different MSS. The name of Narsingh is given as Harsingh in one place and as Barsingh in the next line in the Persian text of Badāonī; who also says that Harsingh had seized the fort by treachery, بغدر.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī adds that he was marching towards Dehli to seize it but his uncle Shams Khān gave him poison and then released Zafar Khān from imprisonment.

<sup>3</sup> These names are all very doubtful. The lith. edn. and the MSS. give different names more or less difficult to decipher. Badāonī does not give any names.

808 A.H. (1495 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched towards Sāmānah. Bahrām Khān Turkbacha, who had become hostile to Sārang Khān, abandoned his place for fear of Iqbāl Khān, and retired to the hill of Badhnor. Iqbāl Khān pursued him and encamped near a valley of that hill. After a few days Sheikh<sup>1</sup> 'Ilm-ud-din, grand son of Sheikh Jalāl Bakhārī, intervened and made peace between them. Iqbāl Khān took Bahrām Khān with him and marched towards Multān. When he arrived at Talwandi<sup>2</sup> he seized and imprisoned Rāy Daud and Kamāl Mūn and Rāy Bhau, son of Rāy Khudjān Behti, and on the third day he broke the terms of peace and had Bahrām Khān flayed. When he encamped near<sup>3</sup> Ajodhan on the bank of the river<sup>4</sup> Dehenda, Khizr Khān came from Dībālpūr and opposed him with the determination of giving him battle, and on the 19th Jamādī-ul-āwwal of the aforesaid year a battle took place and in the first on-set<sup>5</sup> Iqbāl Khān fell into the hands of Khizr Khān's soldiers and was put to death; and the reward of his base ingratitude and of his repeated breaches of faith was quickly allotted to him.

Couplet : Be not bold in breaking faith, for the revolving heavens  
Will quickly place the reward of your deeds in your lap.

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When this news reached Dehli, Doulat Khān and Ikhtyār Khān and other Amīrs who were there summoned Mahmūd Shāh from Kanouj; and in the month of Jamādī-ul-ākhir of the aforesaid year, Mahmūd Shāh came to Dehli and, again sat on the throne; and the family and children and relations and dependants of Iqbāl Khān were expelled from Dehli and sent to Kol, but none of them was injured in any way. The Foujdāri of the Doāb was entrusted to Doulat Khān, and Firozābād was placed in charge of Ikhtyār Khān. At this time Aqlīm Khān and Bahādur Nāhir each brought two elephants as tribute, and rendered homage.

Sultān Mahmūd, after achieving success and gaining his object, in the year 809 A.H. (1406 A.D.) raised his standard and marched towards Jaunpūr with the object of avenging the insult with which he had been treated; and he sent Doulat Khān with a large army against <sup>1</sup> Bīram Khān Turkbacha, who after Bahrām Khān Turkbacha had been slain had taken possession of Sāmānah. When Mahmūd Shāh reached the neighbourhood of Kanouj, Sultān Ibrāhīm came to oppose him from Jaunpūr; and the two armies encamped in front of each other on the bank of the river Ganges; and for some days battle raged furiously. But in the end, by the exertions of the amīrs, peace was concluded. Each one went back to his own place.

After their return, Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh being under the impression that most of Sultān Mahmūd's amīrs and soldiers had at this time become scattered, and knowing it to be a good opportunity, came to Kanouj. Malik Mahmūd Tarmati who was the Governor of Kanouj on behalf of Sultān Mahmūd remained in the fort and fought for four months, but when he became despondent of help and reinforcement from Sultān Mahmūd begged for safety, from Sultān Ibrāhīm and handed Kanouj over to him. Sultān Ibrāhīm placed Kanouj in charge of Ikhtyār Khān, grandson of <sup>2</sup> Malik Doulatyār Kambala; and spent the rainy season there.

And in the year 810 A.H. (1407 A.D.) <sup>3</sup> Nasrat Khān Karkāndāz;

<sup>1</sup> Badāoni does not mention him at all, or the expedition against him.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. and all the MSS. have ملک دولت یار کنبله. Badāoni Persian text has ملک دولت یار کنیله and the English translation Malik Doulatyār of Kampila.

<sup>3</sup> In the Persian text of Badāoni he is called نصرت خان گرگانداز Nasrat Khān the wolfslayer, but in the English translation it is Karkāndāz.

and Tātār Khān, son of Sārang Khān, and Malik Marhabā a slave of Iqbāl Khān separated themselves from Mahmūd Shāh and went over to Sultān Ibrāhīm. The latter went from there (Kanouj) and went to <sup>1</sup> Sambal. Āsad Khān Lodī who was the agent of Sultān Mahmūd, after two days, handed over the fortress of Sambal to him without any struggle. Sultān Ibrāhīm entrusted that place to Tātār Khān; and turned towards Dehli. When he arrived on the bank of the <sup>2</sup> Jumna, and was about to cross it, news came that Zafar Khān, the ruler of Gujrāt, had conquered the country of Mālwa, and <sup>3</sup> Ālap Khān son of Dilāwar Khān, who had assumed the title of Sultān Hoshang, was a prisoner in his hand. <sup>4</sup> Immediately on (receipt of) this news, he turned back and went to Jaunpūr.

In the month of Ziqādah of the aforesaid year Sultān Mahmūd marched to the town of Baran to attack Malik Marhabā, who had been appointed to be governor of that place by Sultān Ibrāhīm. He came out of the fort to give battle; but in the first onset was defeated, and retreated into the fort. The troops of Mahmūd Shāh pursued him and entered the fort, and slew him. Mahmūd Shāh then marched to Sambal. Tātār Khān did not fight, but leaving Sambal fled to Kanouj; and <sup>5</sup> Mahmud Shah left Āsad Khān Lodī at Sambal and went back to Dehli.

On the <sup>6</sup> 5th Rajab 809 A.H. (1406 A.D.) there was a battle

<sup>1</sup> In Rohilkhand.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī adds *بگذر کچه در حوالی دملی*, which Col. Ranking translates near the fort of Kicha in the vicinity of Dehli. Fort is evidently a misprint for ford.

<sup>3</sup> The name is given variously in the lith. edn. and in the MSS. as *الف*, *الب*, and *الب*. The fact of his being taken prisoner is not mentioned by Badāonī who says *ظفر خان عرصه دغار را تسخیر نموده قصد جونپور دارد و سلطان ابراهیم ... بکوی مقتول خود را بجونیور رسانید*.

<sup>4</sup> The lith. edn. and all the MSS. have *بمعجزه این خبر* without any word like *آمدن* or *رسیدن*.

<sup>5</sup> Badāonī has *سلطان محمود ..... منبیل را بی جنگ فتح نموده بدستور سانق*. Col. Ranking translates this, Sultān Mahmūd taking Sambhal without a fight left there Bāsad Khān after his usual custom; instead of saying left it as before in charge of Āsad Khān.

<sup>6</sup> We have already had an account of events occurring in 810 but we are now having an account of some events of the preceding year. The lith. and

between Daulat Khān and Biram Khān Turkbacha at a distance of two *Karohs* from Sāmānah, and Biram Khān was defeated and going to<sup>1</sup> Sirhind entrenched himself there; and at last begging for quarter saw Doulat Khān. As Biram Khān had before this sworn allegiance to Khizr Khān, and afterwards broken faith with him, Khizr Khān collected a force and attacked Doulat Khān. The latter unable to oppose him crossed the river Jumna. All the Amīrs who had joined him, now left him and came to Khizr Khān. (The latter) made over Hisār Firoza to Qawām Khān. He took Sāmānah and Sunām from Biram Khān and made them over to Zīrak Khān and entrusted Sirhind with a few other parganas to Biram Khān, and himself returned towards Fatehpur. At this time only the Doāb and Rohtak remained in the possession of Sultan Mahmūd.

In the year 811 A.D. (1408 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd marched against Qawām Khān and the latter took shelter in Hisār Firoza, and after some days sent his son with a large tribute to the Sultān, and made his excuses, and the Sultān returning from there went to Dehli. Khizr Khān hearing this news came to Fatehābād; and harassed the people of the place, who had joined with Mahmūd Shāh; and appointed Malik Tuhfa to overrun the Doāb, and<sup>2</sup> Dehātarat which had been in the possession of the Sultān. <sup>3</sup> Fateh Khān marching from Dehātarat went towards the Doāb; and some people who had remained in Dehātarat were taken prisoner and Khizr Khān came from Rohtak to Dehli. Mahmūd Shāh, getting into Firozābād, gained some strength, and after besieging the citadel of Firozābād returned to Fatehpūr without achieving his object.

some of the MSS. have no date though they have the word بتاريخ . Two MSS. have پنجم , 5th.

<sup>1</sup> It is called شهر بر هند , سهر عند and سهر بر هند .

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to make out this name. The lith. edn. has دعاترب and the MSS. have دعاترت , دعاترت and دعاترت . Badāonī in his account of the events of this year, i.e. 811 A.H. says Sultān Mahmūd having taken Hisār Firoza from Qawām Khān رسیده بدھلی عود کرد which Col. Ranking has translated "on arriving at the village of Rata returned to Dehli" دعاترت is therefore دعات رتہ or as one MS. of Badāonī has دعات رنہ but I cannot say where Rata or Rana was.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. and the MSS. all say Fateh Khān but it does not appear who he was. The name may be a mistake for Khizr Khān.

And in the year 812 A.H. (1409 A.D.) Biram Khān, becoming hostile to Khizr Khān, went to Doulat Khān, and sent his family and dependants to the hilly country. When Khizr Khan pursuing him arrived on the bank of the river Jumna, he became repentant, and again went back with humility into the service of Khizr Khān, and the parganas which were formerly his jāigir were confirmed to him. Khizr Khān returning from there came to Fatehpur.

In the year 813 A.H. (1410 A.D.) Khizr Khān marched to attack Malik Idris who was governor of Rohtak on the side of Mahmūd Shāh : and the latter took shelter in the fort of Rohtak, and went on fighting for a period of six months ; but at last feeling his weakness sent his son as a hostage, and sending large sums as tribute did homage. Khizr Khān then went to Fatehpur by the way of Sāmānah. After the return of Khizr Khān, Mahmūd Shāh came back to Dehli, after<sup>1</sup> hunting in Kaithal, and<sup>2</sup> in these circumstances occupied himself with play and amusement.

And in the year 814 A.H. (1411 A.D.) Khizr Khān marched towards Rohtak which was among the countries in the possession of Mahmūd Shāh. Malik Idris and Mubāriz Khān his brother went forward to welcome him, and rendered homage to him at Hānsi. Khizr Khān made their hearts glad by shewing them great kindness and favour, and after that pillaged the town of Nārnoul which was held by Aqlim Khān and Bahādur Nāhir, and then went to Dehli and besieged the citadel of Sirī. Mahmūd Shāh took shelter in the citadel and made dying efforts ; and Ikhtiyār Khān who was his governor in Firozābād joined the service of Khizr Khān. The latter then marched from before the gate of the citadel of Sirī and alighted in the palace of Firozābād, and took possession of the towns of the Doāb and the environs of the capital. But on account of the dearth of grain and fodder abandoned the siege ; and went by the way of Pānipat in the year 815 A.H. (1412 A.D.) to Fatehpūr. And in the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year, Mahmūd Shāh went towards Kaithal on a hunting excursion, and returned to Dehli, and on the way in the month of Ziqādah of the same year he fell ill, and in the course

<sup>1</sup> Badāoni mentions the expedition to Kaithar (same as Kaithal) but he does not say what the object of the expedition was.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. I suppose in spite of his enemy being at his door.

of the month died. From that date the sovereignty passed from the dynasty of Firoz Shāh. The reign of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, son of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, son of Firoz Shāh which was nothing but a name extended to twenty years and two months.

After that, for two months, there was great disturbance in Dehli. The Amīrs of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh did homage to Doulat Khān. Malik Idris and Mubārīz Khān, turning from Khizr Khān joined Doulat Khān. Khizr Khān passed this year in Fatchpūr. In the month of Muharram 816 A.H. (1414 A.D.) Doulat Khān marched towards Kaithar; Rāy Narsingh and other Rāys came and did him service. When he arrived in the town of Patiali <sup>1</sup> Mahābat Khān Badāoni came to his service. At this time news came that Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqi had besieged Qādir Khān, son of Mahmūd Khān, at Kālpi and Doulat Khān did not have such a force that he could match himself against <sup>2</sup> Sultān Ibrāhīm, so he turned back and came to Dehli. In the month of Ramazān of that year, Khizr Khān turned towards Dehli, and when he arrived at Hisār Firoza, the Amīrs of that country came to render him service, and became his well wishers. Malik Idris remained in the fort of Rohtak. Khizr Khān did not interfere with him, and leaving that place went to Miwāt. Jalāl Khān, nephew of Bahādur Nāhir there came to do him service. <sup>3</sup> From that place he went to the town of Sambal and after pillaging and devastating the place, came again to Dehli in the month of Zihij-jeh of that year, and encamped before the gate of Sīri; and Doulat Khān defended the place for four months. At last Malik <sup>4</sup> Yūnān and other supporters of Khizr Khān seized the gate of the <sup>5</sup> Butkhānah by stratagem: and Doulat Khān, finding that things had passed beyond his power, had out of necessity to ask for quarter, and came and saw Khizr Khān. The latter placed him in charge of Qawām

<sup>1</sup> Badāoni calls him the Wālī of Badāun.

<sup>2</sup> Two of the MSS. have Sharq after Sultān Ibrāhīm's name.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. and one MSS. has و از انجا برگشته

<sup>4</sup> This name is very variously given. The lith. edn. has تونان and the MSS. have بونان and برنا and بونا Badāoni has لونا, Lūnā.

<sup>5</sup> The lith. edn. has دروازه دولت خانرا the gate of Doulat Khān which is of course incorrect. The MSS. have دروازه بتخانه, except one which has دولت خانه.



Khān; and ordered that he should be kept under imprisonment in Hisār Firoza; and this happened in the month of Rabi-ul-āwwal<sup>1</sup> 817 A.H. (1415 A.D.)

<sup>2</sup> RĀYĀT 'ĀLĪ KHIZR KHĀN SON OF MALĪK SULEMĀN.

It is related that Malik Marwān Doulat who was one of the Amirs of Sultān Firoz Shāh had adopted Malik Sulemān the father of Khizr Khān in his childhood, and had brought him up; and it is correctly related that Amīr Marwān Doulat had Amīr Jalāl Bukhārī, may his tomb remain holy, as a guest, and at the time of beginning, their repast Malik Sulemān was employed by order of Malik Marwān Doulat in washing the hands of the assembled guests. Saiyad Jalāl declared that this service was not proper for the young Saiyad-zādah; and from the words of Mīr Saiyad Jalāl the fact of Malik Sulemān's lineage was verified. Khizr Khān was a young man, pious, truthful, of amiable manners, and of pure morals; and the purity of his beliefs and the greatness of his position are proofs of his noble lineage.

Couplet: Although from training come actions good, but  
Praiseworthy qualities from noble lineage spring.

In short in the time of Sultan Firoz Shāh, Malik Marwān Doulat was in charge of Multān; and after his death Malik Sheikh held charge, and after a short time died. Then Sultān Firoz Shāh made Multān over to Khizr Khān, and from that time Khizr Khān became one of the great Amirs: and even before he took possession of Dehli, he had carried on great wars, and obtained great victories, as has been narrated. On the <sup>3</sup> 15th of the month of Rabi'-ul-āwwal 817 A.H.

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. has *سنة عشر و ثمانمائة* year 810 A.H. which is certainly incorrect. All the MSS. have *سنة سبع و عشر و ثمانمائة* year 817 A.H. Badāonī has *سنة ستة و عشر و ثمانمائة* year 816 A.H. He also gives the date of the month, 17th.

<sup>2</sup> That is the heading of the lith. edn. and most of the MSS. One MS. has *مسند علي حضر خان بن ملك اشرف بن ملك سلطان خضر خان سليمان*. Badāonī has *ملك اشرف بن ملك*. Although in the heading Khizr Khān is said to be the son of Malik Ashraf, the latter is not mentioned at all later on.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī says he took possession of Dehli on the 17th Rabi'-ul-āwwal of 816 A. H.; but the lith. edn. and all the MSS. of the *Tabaqāt* give the date and year given in the text.

(1415 A.D.) he took possession of Dehli and although he possessed the status of sovereignty and the paraphernalia of royalty he never gave himself the title of Bādshāh, but assumed the title of Rāyāt-i-'ālī; and had the name of Amīr Taimūr in the coin and in the public prayer in the early part of his reign, and later that of Mirzā Shāh Rukh; and in the end, the name of Khizr Khān was inserted in the coin and in the public prayer.

He conferred the title of Tāj-ul-Mulk on <sup>1</sup> Malik Tuhfa and made him the *Vazīr*; gave the province of Sahāranpur to Saiyad Sālim; and Multān and Fatehpūr to Malik 'Abd-ur-Rahīm, adopted son of Malik Sulemān, on whom he conferred the title of 'Ala-ul-Mulk. He made Malik Sarwar the *Shahna* (Superintendent) of the city, Malik Khair-ud-dīn Khānī the paymaster of the forces, Malik Kālū the superintendent of the elephants and Malik Dā'ud the secretary. He appointed Ikhtiyār Khān to the government of the Doāb, and confirming to all the Khānazādas of Sultān Mahmūd such stipends and gratuities as they had, sent them to their jāgirs.

In the same year he sent Tāj-ul-Mulk with a large army towards Bādāūn and Kaithar so that he might punish the rebels of that country and make them (peaceful) raiyats. Tāj-ul-Mulk crossed the Jumna and the <sup>2</sup> Ganges, and arriving in Kaithar severely punished the Zamindārs of that country. Rāy <sup>3</sup> Narsingh fled and took shelter in the <sup>4</sup> Valley of Ānūla and when he was reduced to great straits, he humbly paid revenue and became a rayat; and Mahābat Khān the governor of Badāun also came in and rendered service. From that place <sup>5</sup> (Tāj-ul-Mulk) marched along the bank of the Rahab, came to

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī calls him Malik Nahr but one MS. has Tuhfa. The lith. edn. of the *Tabaqāt* has بحر and one MSS. تجر but the other MSS. have تحفه

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says he crossed the Ganges at the ford of Pirāhā.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī as before calls him Rai Harsingh; so does the lith. edn. of the *Tabaqāt*, but two of the MSS. have Narsingh. one Barsingh and one Bīr Singh.

<sup>4</sup> The lith. edn. and most of the MSS. have در درة انوله. One MS. has در درة انول. Badāonī, Persian text has پناه برد. در درة انول, i.e. took shelter in the jungle of Ānūla: but in the English translation it is "in the forests of that country," and in a note it is said that one MS. has در جنگل انولايت. انوله seems to have been converted to انولايت.

<sup>5</sup> Badāonī says that Tāj-ul-Mulk and Mahābat Khān marched along the

the ford of Sargadwārī, and crossing the river Ganges, punished the Kafirs of Kahwar which is now known as <sup>1</sup> Shamsābād and <sup>2</sup> Kambala marched to the town of Bādham by way of the town of <sup>3</sup> Sakīt. Hasan Khān ruler of <sup>4</sup> Rāparī and <sup>5</sup> Hamza his brother came and saw him: and Rāy <sup>6</sup> Sar also becoming humble and submissive came and did service: and the Rājās of <sup>7</sup> Gwālīār <sup>8</sup> Rabri and Chandwār also paid revenue. He took the town of Jalesar from the possession of the Rājputs of Chandwār, and made it over to the Musalmans who had formerly held it, and appointed a superintendent of it, and marching thence to the country of Gwālīār pillaged and devastated it, and took from the Rāy the annual tribute which had been fixed before; and from there went to Chandwār and taking revenue from Narsingh zamindār of Kambala and Batālī. crossed the river Jumna near Chandwār. and so returned to Dehli.

In the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal news came that a <sup>9</sup> horde of

Rahab. In the *Tabaqāt*, neither the lith. edn. nor any of the MSS. says distinctly who did so, but of course Tāj-ul-Mulk is understood.

<sup>1</sup> Shamsābād is a town in Farrukhābād district. N.-W.P., situated on the S. bank of the Buriganga. 18 miles N.-W. of Fatehgarh. Hunter Gaz. Ind. vol. II. 375.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī has Kampila. The lith. edn. of the *Tabaqāt* has كنبلة and the MSS. have كنبلة and كنبلة.

<sup>3</sup> Sakīt is on the direct route between Kampila and Rāparī, 12 miles S.-E. of Etah town. See note 4, p. 377 of Col. Rankin's translation of Badāonī.

<sup>4</sup> Rāparī is a village with ruins 44 miles S.-W. of Mainpūri town. See note 5, p. 377 of the Eng. trans. of Badāonī.

<sup>5</sup> He is turned into Hamra in the Eng. translation, though he is Hamza right enough in the Persian text of Badāonī.

<sup>6</sup> He is called Rāi Sar in Badāonī. The lith. edn. of the *Tabaqāt* has سرور but the MSS. سر except one which has سیر.

<sup>7</sup> The readings vary: the lith. edn. has راجه گوالیار و سرور چندوار نیز, and one MS. has راجه گوالیار و سودی و زبیری و چند وار, two راجه گوالیار و سودی. Badāonī has راجی سر حاکم چند وار باکفاز گوالیار همه آمده چند وار.

<sup>8</sup> Rabri is written differently from Rāparī above.

<sup>9</sup> The author of the *Tabaqāt* has omitted to mention that Khīzr Khān took away the territory of Firozpur and Sirhind from Bīram Khān and made them over to Saiyad Khīzr Khān the younger son of Malik Mubārak and the latter appointed Malik Sudhu Nāhīr to be his Naib. This is narrated by Badāonī, who however calls Sudhu Nāhīr سدھو نادر. Shāhzada Mubārak Khān of the

Turks of the tribe of Bīram Khān Turkbacha had taken possession of the fort of Sirhind, after treacherously slaying Malik Sudhu Nāhir who had been appointed Governor of that place on behalf of Shāhzāda Mubārak Khān. Khizr Khān sent Zīrak Khān with a large army against them. The Turks crossed the river Satlad (Sutlej) and went into the hilly country. Zīrak Khān pursued them there; and for two months tried his best, but had to return without attaining his object.

And in the month of Rajab of the same year Sultān Āhmad Gujrātī besieged the fort of <sup>1</sup> Nāgor. Khizr Khān started for the place by way of Tūdah in order to suppress this disturbance. Sultān Āhmad returned to his own kingdom without meeting him in battle. Khizr Khān turning back went to the city of <sup>2</sup> Nau-urus-Jahān, which was among those founded by Sultān Alauddīn Khiljī. Ilyās the Governor of that city came and saw him. The Sultān after punishing the disturbers of peace of that country turned towards Gwāliār. As it was difficult to capture the fort, he took the revenue which was fixed, from the Rāy; and marched to Biānah; and levied tribute from Shams Khan Auhadi the governor; and then returned to Dehli.

And in the year 820 A.H. (1417 A.D.) news came of the <sup>3</sup> rebellion of Tūghān and some Turks who had killed Malik Sudhu.

text is according to Badāonī Saiyad Khizr Khēn the younger son of Malik Mubārak.

<sup>1</sup> Nāgor is in Jodhpur State, Rajputana, 48 miles N.-W. of Nasirābād and 75 miles N.-E. of Jodhpur city. In Briggs' translation of Ferishtah (I. 507) it is changed into Bāgor.

<sup>2</sup> There is considerable difficulty about this name. The lith. edn. and most of the MSS. read شهر نو عروس جهاین. One MS. has شهر نو عروس جهان. I consider this last the correct reading; the meaning being the city (called, the new bride of the earth:) if جهان is read as جهاین on چهاين as in different MSS. of Badāonī or as Jalwār or Jāviūr as in Ferishtah then the phrase شهر نو عروس is meaningless; whereas شهر نو عروس جهاین although poetic and bombastic has a very clear meaning. It is the separation of Jahān from Nau-urus and the attempt to make Jahān the name of some city which has been the cause of all the confusion. It is true that Badāonī has not got شهر نو عروس but Ferishtah has. See note 2 p. 379 of Ranking's trans. of Badāonī vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī does not give any of the details. He only says و دو سنه عشرين و ثمانمائه ( ۸۲۰ ) توغان رئیس و جماعه او که قاتلان ملک سدھو بودند خروج کردند و زیرک خان باز نامرد شد وان جماعه را متفرق گردانید.

Zīrak Khān the Governor of Sāmānah was appointed to attack them ; when he came near <sup>1</sup> Sāmānah the rebels abandoned (the siege of) the fort of Sirhind, and returned to the hills. Malik Kamāl Budhan who had been beleaguered in the fort, having obtained his release came to do service to Zīrak Khān. The latter pursuing the enemy reached the town of Pāel. Tūghān, who was the leader of the Turks, made his submission, agreed to pay tribute, and gave his son as hostage, and separated the Turks who had slain Malik Sudhu from himself. Zīrak Khān returned towards Sāmānah and sent the tribute and Tūghān's son to Khizr Khān.

In the year 821 A.H. (1418 A.D.) Khizr Khān sent Tāj-ul-Mulk to attack Rāy Narsingh, the Rājā of Kaithar. When the army crossed the Ganges, Narsingh vacating the country returned to the jungle of <sup>2</sup> Ānulah, and after some struggles under the shelter of the forest was routed ; his horses, and arms, and all equipage were seized, and some troops, having pursued him to the mountains of Kamāūn, acquired much booty and on the fifth day again joined the main army. After that Tāj-ul-Mulk came to the bank of the river Ganges by way of Badāun, and having crossed the river by the ford of Bajlāneh, he dismissed Mahābat Khān, the governor of Badāun, and advanced on Itāwah. Rāy <sup>3</sup> Sar took shelter in the town. Tāj-ul-Mulk plundered the country, but at last entered into an agreement, and in the month of Rabi'ul-ākhir of the same year returned to Dehli. In the same year Khizr Khān marched out with the object of punishing the disturbers and insurgents of Kaithar. He first punished the rebels of the country of Kol, and then crossing the river Rahab devastated Sambal. He then, in the month of Zī-qādeh of the aforesaid year, moved in the direction of Badāun, and crossed the river Ganges near Patiali. From these incidents Mahābat Khān's heart was panic-stricken. He went

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. and all the MSS. have Sāmānah and I have retained it in the text but I think the correct reading should be Sirhind. Zīrak Khan would start from Sāmānah to go to Sirhind.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī here gives the correct name of the jungle, (and says that it has a circumference of 24 *karohs*) instead of, as in the narration of the events of a previous attack on the country, calling it the *جنگل الولايت*. Col. Ranking has *ānwla* as the transliteration of *انوله*.

<sup>3</sup> There is the usual variation about this name between *سرور* and *سر* and *نسیتر*.

to Badāun and in the month of Zi-hijjah he shut himself up in the fort, and six months were passed in battles and warfare. About this time some nobles such as Qawām Khān and Ikhtiyār Khān and all the adherents of Mahmūd Shāh, who had separated from Doulat Khān and joined Khizr Khān, meditated treason against the latter. Khizr Khān became aware of this, abandoned the siege and turned towards Dehli, and in the course of the march on the bank of the Ganges on the 20th of the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal of the year 822 A.H. (1418 A.D.) he put Qawām Khān, and Ikhtiyār Khān and the adherents of Mahmūd Shāh, and all the traitors to death and then arrived in Dehli.

After a few days news came that a <sup>1</sup> man had got an idea of creating a disturbance into his head, and giving himself the name of Sārang Khān was collecting men in the hills of Bajwārah. (Khizr Khān), conferred the government of Sirhind on <sup>2</sup> Malik Sultān Shah Bahrām Lodi and appointed him to attack him. Malik Sultān Shah reached Sirhind in the month of Rajab of that year, and Sārang issuing from the hills came as far as the river Satlad. The people of Rūpar joined him, and a battle took place in the neighbourhood of Sirhind. Sārang was defeated and went towards the town of <sup>3</sup> Lahori, one of the dependencies of Sirhind. Khwājeh 'Alī Indrāni, came with his forces and saw Sultān Shah : and <sup>4</sup> Zirak Khān, governor of Sāmā-

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī calls him *مردی مجهولی*, i.e. an obscure person, and as regards Sārang Khān he says *کشته شده بود* who had before this been killed. As regards the place he says *در حدود بجواره* in the limits of Bajwārah but Ferishta has *نزدیک ماچیواره* near Māchiwārah. Māchiwārah according to the 'Ain Akbarī was situated on the bank of the Satlaj and in Rennel's map it is figured between Rupar and Lūdhianah, and lies 23 miles S. of the last named town and is a very ancient city mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Bajwārah is further N. near Hoshiūrpur. (See note 2, p. 380, Col. Ranking's trans. of Badāonī; vol. I.)

<sup>2</sup> He is called in the Persian text of Badāonī *سلطان شد لودی*, but in the Eng. trans. he is called Sultān Shāh Lodi.

<sup>3</sup> That is the name in the lith. edn. and the MSS., Badāonī says *کریخته بکوستان در امد*.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī does not mention the various leaders who with their forces were sent against the imposter Sārang. Col. Ranking makes some additions from Ferishta who according to him says that Sultān Shah Lodi was called Islām Khān and was the Governor of Sirhind. He also adds that Islām Khān pur-

nah and Tūghān Turkbacha, governor of Jalandhar, also came to Sirhind to help Sultān Shah. Sārang turning back went to Rūpar, and when the armies pursued him to that place he fled into the hilly country; and the troops halted there. And in the meantime Malik Khair-ud-dīn who had also been directed to attack Sārang came with a large force; and in the month of Ramazān of the aforesaid year reached Rūpar, and for some time they all remained in the hilly country. and when Sārang's followers became dispersed he with a few men concealed himself in the hills, and the armies returned. Malik Khair-ud-dīn turned his face towards the capital and Zīrak Khān went back to Sāmānah, while Sultān Shah with his troops stationed himself at Rūpar. At this time Sārang came out of the hills and in the month of Muharram 823 A.H. (1420 A.D.) joined Tūghān and the latter treacherously slew him. During this time Khizr Khān was taking some rest in the capital; and sent Tāj-ul-Mulk to subdue the Zamindārs of Itāwah and its neighbourhood; and he marched to <sup>1</sup> Kol by way of Baran and exterminated the rebels of that country and having sacked Mouza Dahli, which was a place of great strength, went to Itāwah. Rāy <sup>2</sup> Sar held out in Itāwah but in the end came to terms, and agreed to pay the revenue that had been fixed. Tāj-ul-Mulk went to Chandwār and plundered and laid it waste and then went to Kaithar. and having taken tribute from Rāy Narsingh returned to the city. And in the month of Rajab of the aforementioned year news came that <sup>3</sup> Tūghān Turkbacha had again shown hostility, and had besieged the fort of Sirhind, and had overrun the country up to the boundary of Mansurpur and Pāel. Khizr Khān sent Khair-ud-dīn against him,

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sued Sārang Khān with certain other Maliks, but returned upon finding that he had hidden himself. See notes 3 and 4, p. 380, vol. I of his translation of Badāonī.

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī does not mention these movements. He contents himself with saying that Tāj-ul-Mulk was sent to Itāwah.

<sup>2</sup> Written سرور in the lith. edn. and سر or سیر in the MSS. In the Persian text of Badāonī he is رای سیر Rāy Sīr, but in the Eng. trans. he is changed into Rai Sīpar.

<sup>3</sup> Bādaonī does not also give any details of Tūghān's rebellions and of the steps taken against him. He only says و طوغان ریس باز در شهرند فتنه انگیزخته و ملک خیر الدین برو نامزد شد و شراو بکفایت رسانیده باز گشت.

and he arriving at Sīmānah in concert with Zīrak Khān pursued him. The latter crossing the Satlad near Ludhiānah came to the territory of Jasrath Khokhar. Tughan's *Jaigīr* was then conferred on Zīrak Khān: and Malik Khair-ud-dīn returned to Dehli.

Khizr Khān placed the foot of determination in the stirrup of bravery in the year 824 A.H. (1421 A.D.) for the subjugation of the insurgents of Miwāt. Some of them betook themselves in the fort of the Kotla of Bahādur Nāhir, and some came and had interview with Khizr Khān. When the fort was beleaguered the Miwātians came and opposed him; but in the first charge they fled and the Kotlah was seized. The Miwātians retired to the hills. Khizr Khān demolished the fort, and marched towards Gwāliār. On the 8th Muharram of that year Tāj-ul-Mulk died, and Sikandar his eldest son was made Vazīr and obtained the title of Malik-ush-Sharq. The Rāja of Gwāliār shut himself up in the fort, his territory was pillaged and (Khizr Khān) having also levied tribute from him, marched towards Itāwah. Rāy Sar was<sup>1</sup> dead but his son did homage and agreed to pay tribute. At this time Khizr Khān became ill and returned towards Dehli, and on the 17th of Jamādi-ul-āwwal 824 A.H. (1421 A.D.) he was united with the mercy of God. The period of his reign was seven years and two months and two days. <sup>2</sup> Many charities and benefactions came into existence from him and people who had during the disturbances caused by Tāimūr's invasion had lost everything and been reduced to poverty during his auspicious days again became happy and prosperous.

#### SULTĀN MUBĀRAK SHĀH SON OF RĀYĀT-A'LA KHIZR KHAN.

When the illness of Khizr Khān became severe, three days before his death, he made Mubārak Khān his successor; and one day after his death Mubārak Khān with the consent of the amīrs sat on the throne of sovereignty and adopted the title of Mubārak Shāh. He conferred on everyone of the amīrs and maliks and great men and Imāms who

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī instead of our author's *فوت کرده بود* i.e. had died, has *بدوزخ رفته بود* had gone to hell.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī does not say anything about Khizr Khān's qualities and virtues. Col. Ranking quotes from Ferishtah that he was a just and wise King and his subjects loved him and mourned for him. Note 2, p. 381, vol. I.



had during the reign of Khizr Khān any stipend or gratuity from any <sup>1</sup> parganah or village the same stipends and increased them in some cases. He transferred Firozābād and Hānsi from Malik Rajab Nādirah to his own nephew Malik Badah ; and in place of these gave Dibālpur to Malik Rajab.

At this time the news of the rebellion of <sup>2</sup> Sheikhā Khokhar and Tughān Raīs came. The reason of Sheikhā's revolt was this, that in the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal 823 A.H. (1420 A.D.) Sultān 'Alī the bādshāh of Kashmīr had come to Thatha. When he was returning from Thatha, Sheikhā met him and engaged him in battle. As the army of Sultān 'Alī was scattered about, he was defeated and taken prisoner by Sheikhā. The latter's brain was deranged on account of the enormous plunder and the large quantity of riches he had got, and the thought of revolt entered his head. He formed a resolution of seizing Dehli and the empire of Hindustān. He overran the parganas in his vicinity and crossing the river Satlad, sacked the <sup>3</sup> Talwandi of Rai Kamāl Mū'in. Rāy Firoze, the Zamindār of that place fled, and retired towards the Junna. Sheikhā coming to the town of Lūdhīāna, overran the country as far as the boundary of Rūpar ; and afterwards crossing the Sutlej besieged the fort of Jālandhar. Zīrak Khān, the governor of the fort, shut himself up in it and gave battle. Sheikhā proposing terms of peace required that Zīrak Khān should vacate the fort, and make it over to Tughān who would send his son to do service to Mubārak Shāh and Sheikhā himself should also send tribute to the latter. On the 2nd of Jamādi-ul-ākhir 824 A.H. (1421 A.D.) Zīrak Khān came out of the citadel of Jālandhar, and with <sup>4</sup> a group of the

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. and some of the MSS. have از پیر کنه اوده i.e. from the parganas of Oudh ; two MSS. omit اوده ; but one MS. has پیر کنه وده i.e. from parganah and village. This is clearly the correct reading and I have accepted it.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says that it was Jasrat Khokar, the son of Sheikhā that raised the revolt. Ferishtah also says that it was Jasrat but he says he was the brother of Sheikhā. The lith. edn. and most the MSS. of the Tabaqāt say that it was Sheikhā ; but one MS. says it was Sheikhā and Jasrat.

<sup>3</sup> This agrees with Badāonī and Ferishtah. Talwandi Col. Ranking thinks is identical with Tulloom or the N. bank of the Satlaj in Rennel's map 20 miles S.S.W. of Ludhiāna. Rāy Kamāl Mū'in is Rāy Kamāluddīn Mūbīn of Badāonī.

<sup>4</sup> The Readings of this sentence are various and doubtful. What I have translated as with a group may be گروهی or be گروهی with three groups or

army of Sheikhā encamped on the bank of the river Mū'in. On the following day Sheikhā broke the agreement and attacking Zīrak Khān made him prisoner; and raised the standard of hostility anew. He crossed the Sotlej and came to Lūdhīāna, and on the 20th Jamādi-ul-ākhir of the aforesaid year arrived in Sirhind. Sultān Shah Lodī governor of the place shut himself up in the fort, and as the rainy season had commenced Sheikhā although he tried hard could not take it.

And in the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year Sultān Mubārak Shah marched out of the capital in spite of the rain, and advanced towards Sirhind. When he arrived near Sāmānah Sheikhā went towards Lūdhīānah. Zīrak Khān joined Sultān Mubārak Shāh at Sāmānah, and the latter advanced to Lūdhīānah. Sheikhā crossing the Sotlej, encamped on the other side of the river opposite to the Sultān's army. <sup>1</sup>As the river was broad, and all the boats had fallen into Sheikhā's hands Mubārak Shāh was unable to cross it; and for forty days the two armies faced each other. When Canopus rose and the river became narrower Mubārak Shāh marched along the river towards Qabulpur and Sheikhā also marching along his bank of the river, everyday, encamped opposite the Sultān's army; till on the 11th of the month of Shawwāl of the aforesaid year, the Sultān sent Malik Sikandar Tuhfah, and Zīrak Khān, and Mahmūd Hasan, and Malik Kālū and other amirs with a large army and six elephants higher up the river, so that on the following morning they might reach a ford and cross the river; and he himself made arrangements for doing so. Sheikhā not having the strength to oppose him fled

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سرگروہی with a leader. The MSS. which have سه with three, have the figure ۳ above the سه so that there may be no doubt at all. The name of the river or stream may be anything مین men or مینک Mūin or هین Hein. Badāonī says حسرت کنار آب سرستی فرود آمد و سخن صلح و صلاح در میان شد و بعد از بزرگ خانرا مقید ساخت . i.e. Jasrat encamped on the bank of the Sarasvatī and there were words of peace and agreement and he treacherously made Zīrak Khān prisoner. The river according to Badāonī is Sarasvatī but the word in the lith. edn. and in the MSS. cannot be tortured into that.

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī does not give all these details. He only says و بعد از طلوع سهیل و بعد از پایاب شد و سلطان از آب دریا عبور کرد و جسرت گریخت . i.e. and after the rising of Canopus the river became fordable and the Sultān crossed it and Jasrat fled.

towards Jālandhar and a large quantity of equipage, and wealth fell as booty into the hands of the Sultān's army; and a large number of Sheikhā's troops both cavalry and infantry were slain. The Sultān's army pursued Sheikhā as far as the river <sup>1</sup> Chināb. Sheikhā crossing the river got into the <sup>2</sup> mountains. <sup>3</sup> Rāy Bhīm, Rājā of Jamūn, came to render service to the Sultān and guiding the troops took them across the Chināb to <sup>4</sup> Thikah which was the strongest of Sheikhā's strongholds, and they laid it waste; and taking Sheikhā's followers who had been scattered among the mountains, prisoner, the Sultān returned safe and loaded with much booty in the month of Muharram of 825 A.H. (1421 A.D.) to Lahore. He stayed for a month in Lahore, which had been reduced completely to ruins; and occupied himself with the rebuilding of the fort and the gates. When the fort was restored, and most of the people came back and settled in their old residences, he appointed Malik Mahmūd Hasan to be the governor, and left 2000 horsemen with him, and giving him a complete equipage for holding the fort, returned to Dehli.

In the month of Jamādi-ul-ākhir of the aforesaid year <sup>5</sup> Sheikhā Khokhar in concert with the zamindārs, collected a large body of horsemen and foot soldiers, and laying the foundation of disturbance and revolt came to Lahore; and encamped near the tomb of Saiyad Hasan <sup>6</sup> Zinjānī, May God sanctify him! and on the 11th of the afore-

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī calls it the چھناؤ Chhināo, though Col. Ranking transliterates it as Chhināb.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī is more definite and says بٹلہر میان کوة در امد, which Col. Ranking translates "to Talhar in the hill tracts," and adds in a note that it is identical with Talwarah in the Kashmir hill tracts.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. and some of the MSS. have رای بہلیم Rāy Bhalīm or رای بہلیم Rāy Bhīlam. Two of the MSS. read رای بہیم Rāy Bhīm, and so do Badāonī (though one MS. has سلیم Salīm,) and Ferishtah.

<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to make out this name. The lith. edn. has تھنکر, Thankar, and the MSS. have تھتکھ Thatkah, بھتکر Bhatkar, بھتکر Bhatkar, تھیکھ Thīkah. It may be the same as the تلہر of Badāonī (see note 3); Ferishtah says that Rāy Bhīm offered his services, and guided the army to Bīsal the strongest of Jasrat's strongholds. The language is similar to that of our author, محکم ترین جایہای.

<sup>5</sup> It is still Sheikhā in the lith. edn. and all the MSS. of the Tabuqāt, though in Badāonī and Ferishtah it is Jasrat.

<sup>6</sup> The lith. edn. has رحمانی but the MSS. have the correct nūme.

said month and year attacked the <sup>1</sup> mud fort of Lahore, and slew many men; and again on the 21st of the same month he attacked the fort with great force; but failing to do anything, sat down a few *karoḥs* behind his first position; and went on fighting for a month and five days, but was unable to do anything. When *Sheikhā* was unable to do anything he returned towards <sup>2</sup> Kalānūr, and fought with Rāy Bhīm who had come to Kalānūr in order to render help to Malik Mahmūd Hasan. In the month of Ramazān of the aforesaid year peace was concluded, and *Sheikhā* went towards the river Biāh. At this time Malik Sikandar Tuhfah arrived at the ford of <sup>3</sup> Pūhī with the army which had been sent by Sultān Mubārak Shāh to help Malik Mahmūd Hasan. *Sheikhā* had no strength left to fight, so crossing the Rāvī and the Chināb he retired into the hills. Malik Sikandar crossed the river Biāh by the ford of Pūhī, and on the 12th of the month of Shawwāl of the aforementioned year arrived in Lahore. Malik Mahmūd Hasan went forward to receive him and esteemed his arrival a great honour. <sup>4</sup> Malik Rajab governor of Dībālpur, and Malik Sultān Shah governor of Sirhind and Rāy Firoz Mū'in and the zamindārs had before this joined Malik Sikandar. The whole army, following the bank of the river Rāvī, marched towards Kalānūr; and when it reached the boundaries of Jamūn, Rāy Bhim came and joined

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<sup>1</sup> قلعه خام. Badāonī does not give any of the details. He says نزول نموده تا یکماه - هر روز بقصد گرفتن شهر حمله میکرد و آخر الامر بمقصود نرسیده باز گشته بکلا نور رفت.

<sup>2</sup> Seventeen miles west of Gurdaspur town Lat. 32° 1' N. Long. 75° 11' 30" East. It was here that Akbar in later times received the news of his father's death and ascended the throne. (Note 8, p. 383, vol. I of Col. Ranking's trans. of the Muntakhabāt-ut-tawārīkh.)

<sup>3</sup> The name is given as بوهی Būhī or پوهی Pūhī in the lith. edn. and the MSS. It appears that Malik Sikandar crossed the Biāh by this ford, as noted a few lines further on. In the Persian text of Badāonī Malik Sikandar is said to have crossed the Biāh by the ford of Pūhī, but the English translator makes him cross the Rāvī by this ford, and in the index of the Eng. trans. Pūhī is said to be a ford on the Rāvī. Badāonī has Pūhī. Ferishtah has لوئی, Luī. Col. Ranking thinks that Pūhī is identical with Ponī. See note 1, p. 384, of his trans.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī does not mention that these officers came and joined Malik Sikandar. Ferishtah does, but he calls the governor of Sirhind Islām Khān Lodi.

them also and did service. A band of Khokhars who had become separated from Sheikhā were plundered and then the army returned towards Lahore. About this time <sup>1</sup>Malik Mahmūd Hasan in accordance with a firmān of Sultān Mubārak Shāh went to Jālandhar and after making his arrangements there went to Dehli; and Malik Sikandar came to Lahore; and at the same time the appointment of Vazīr was transferred from Malik Sikandar to Sarwar-ul-Mulk.

In the year 826 A.H. (1422 A.D.) Sultān Mubārak Shāh crossed the Ganges with the object of subduing the infidels and the insurgents of that country; and in the month of Muharram of that year he entered the province of Kaithar, and collected the revenue; and meted out their dues to some insurgents. At this place Mahābat Khān the governor of Badāūn who had been afraid of the displeasure of Khizr Khān, came and saw him. The Sultān crossed the Ganges and overran and pillaged the country of the <sup>2</sup>Rāthors, and slew a large number of people and made others prisoner. He stayed for a few days on the bank of the Ganges; and left Malik Mubāriz, and Zīrak Khān, and Kamāl Khān in the fort of Kambalah with a large army for the subjugation of the Rāthors; and he sent Malik Khair-ud-dīn Khānī against the son of Rāy <sup>3</sup>Sar who had fled from Khizr Khān and had kept aloof; and the former overran and pillaged his country; and went to Itāwah. The Rājputs shut themselves up there and fought; but in the end made their submission and did homage with humility and meekness. The son of Rāy Sar rendered homage, and paid the revenue that was fixed for him. Sultān Mubārak Shāh then returned to Dehli with victory and triumph. About this time Malik Mahmūd Hasan came with his army from Jālandhar to Dehli, and was honoured with the post of Bakhshī, which in those days was called the Arizī of the army.

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<sup>1</sup> These transfers are not mentioned by Badāonī.

<sup>2</sup> A well-known tribe of Rājputs. Badāonī says that the Sultān crossed the Ganges and invaded the country of the Pauwārs in the neighbourhood of Khor, otherwise called Shamsūbād and having put the majority of them to the sword ravaged the country, but this is not mentioned by the author of the Tabaqāt. The Pauwārs were another tribe of Rājputs.

<sup>3</sup> As usual the name is variously given as Sar, and Sīr and Sarwar. Badāonī is silent about the attack on the son of Rāy Sar, and also about the battle of Sheikhā with Rāy Bhīm, and the death of the latter, and also about the unsuccessful expedition of Malik Sikandar.

In the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal of the aforesaid year, there was a battle between Sheikhā and Rāy Bhīm, and the latter was killed : and his treasure and equipage fell into Sheikhā's hands. Sheikhā felt stronger on account of this, and overran the country of Dībālpūr and Lahore. Malik Sikandar marched out with the intention of crushing him, and crossed the Chinab, but returned without effecting anything. As this time the news of the death of Malik 'Ala-'ud-dīn, the son of 'Ala-ul-Mulk the governor of Multān came. News also came that Sheikh 'Alī the son and deputy of <sup>1</sup>Sur Ghanamish was marching from Kābul with a great army for attacking the territory of Bhakar and Siwistan. The Sultān appointed Malik Mahmūd Hasan with a large army to suppress the disturbance created by the Mughals, and made over Multān and the territory of Sindh to him. When he arrived at Multān, he gladdened the hearts of all the people and of the Muslims in general living there, by favours and gifts, and began to rebuild the fort of Multān, which had become dilapidated owing to the inroads of the Mughals. At this time the Mughal army turned back.

At this time news came that Alp Khān, the governor of <sup>2</sup>Dhār who had taken the name of Sultān Hoshang was advancing to seize the fort of Gwāliār. Mubārak Shāh advanced towards Gwāliār. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Bianah he heard that <sup>3</sup>Amir Khān son of Auhad Khān the governor of Biānah had slain his uncle Mubarak Khān, and having laid Biānah waste, had entrenched himself on the top of a hill. Mubārak Shāh encamped near the foot of the hill, and after the interchange of messages Amir Khān agreed to pay

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<sup>1</sup> This name is variously given. The lith. edn. has سور عتمش Sūr Ghatmash, the MSS. have سور عمش خان Sūr Ghamish Khān, سيور عتمش Siur 'Utmarsh and سيور غنمش Siur Ghanmish. Badāonī does not mention this invasion.

<sup>2</sup> Dhār and Ujjain have at various times been the capital of Mālwa, the Mālwa Kingdom of the Hindus. Ferishtah calls Sultān Hoshang the Wālī of Mālwa.

<sup>3</sup> He is so called in the lith. edn. and in all the MSS. Badāonī calls him in the Persian text پسر اوحد خان. In the Eng. translation he is called Shams Khān Auhadī the son of Auhad Khān Auhadī, as he is called in one MS. Ferishtah calls him Amīr Khān ibn-i-Dāud Khān, ibn-i-Shams Khān. The name given by Ferishtah agrees with that given by our author. Ferishtah also says that he entrenched himself on the heights.

a yearly tribute and did homage. <sup>1</sup>Sultān Mubārak Shāh went from that place to Gwāliār. Alp Khān had encamped at a place which commanded a ford of the Chambal. Mubārak Shāh discovered another ford and quickly crossed the river. Some amīrs who were in the vanguard of the army plundered the outskirts of Alp Khān's army and brought in a large number as prisoners. As the prisoners were Musalmāns the Sultān ordered their release. The next day Alp Khān proposed terms of peace and having sent a fitting tribute returned towards Dhār, and Mubārak Shāh stayed on the bank of the Chambal; and after taking tribute according to the ancient custom from the zamindārs of that country, returned to Dehli in this month of Rajab 827 A.H. (1423 A.D.)

And in the month of Muharram<sup>2</sup> 828 A.H. (1424 A.D.) the Sultān proceeded towards Kaithar. Nar Singh the Ray of Kaithar came to the bank of the Ganges, did homage, and was imprisoned for a few days on account of the arrears for three years, but was at last released on payment of the revenue. The Sultān crossed the Ganges from that place and after punishing the disturbers of the peace on that side returned. At this time the news of the insurrection and violence of the Miwātians came. The Sultān marched in that direction and plundering and destroying devastated the greater part of Miwāt. The Miwātians leaving their country unoccupied and in ruins, went to the hills of <sup>3</sup>Jhar. The Sultān returned to Dehli on account of the scarcity of grain and fodder and the strength of the country and sending the amīrs to their jāigīrs gave himself up to enjoyment. And in the year 829 A.H. (1425 A.D.) he again marched towards Miwāt with

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī's account of what happened at Gwāliār agrees generally with that of our author, but is not nearly so picturesque and rich, in details. Ferīsh-tah's account agrees with that in the *Tabaqāt* and is evidently based on it. The Chambal is the principal tributary of the Jumna. It rises in Mālwa, is joined by the Kāli Sind, Pārhatī and Bānās and falls into the Jumna 40 miles below Itāwah town. (*Hunters Imp. Gaz.* III. 331.) It is the Charmanvatī of the Sanskrit writers.

<sup>2</sup> Variouslly given as Jhar. Jharah and Chharah in the MSS. and in the lith. edn:

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī says that this inroad into Kaithar took place in 827 A.H. but his account is extremely sketchy; the events of 827 (?)—829 occupy 5 lines in the Persian text and about the same in the English translation.

the object of punishing the rebels of that country. <sup>1</sup> Jallu and Qaddu and all the Miwātians, who were joined with them left their places unoccupied and waste; and entrenched themselves in the hills of Androon; and after making dying struggles they vacated the fort and retired into the hills of Alwar. The Sultān attacked them everyday and men of both sides were slain. At last the Miwātians became too weak and begged for quarter. Qaddu came and made his obeisance, and was imprisoned. The Sultān pillaged the country of Miwāt and returned.

He again marched with his troops towards Miwāt, after four months and eleven days, in the month of Muharram 830 A.H. (1426 A.D.), and after punishing the rebels of that country went to Biānah.

Muhammad Khan, son of Auhad Khan, entrenched himself on the top of the hill and fought for sixteen days. Most of his men left him, and joined Sultān Mubārak Shah; and when he had no strength left to oppose the latter, he came out of the fort with all humility and submission with a rope round his neck and did homage; and he gave as tribute the horses, and arms, and other valuable things which he had in the fort. Mubarak Shah brought out his family and adherents from the fort, and sent them to Dehli. He made over Biānah to Maqbal Khan; and Sikri which is also known as Fatehpur to Malik Khair-ud-din Tuhfah and himself marched toward Gwaliār. The Rāys of Gwaliār, and Thakar and Chandwār made their submission, and paid revenue according to previous custom; and the Sultān arrived in Dehli in the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal of the aforesaid year. He

<sup>1</sup> The two names are given as in the text in all the MSS. and the lith. edn.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. two of the MSS. have در کوه اندرون, one MS. has در کوه قلعہ اندور و الودرا. Badāonī has در کوه متحصن شد. اندور while one MS. has قلعہ اندور و الودرا. Badāonī has قلعہ اندور و الودرا. he seized the forts of Indore and Alwar. اندرون or اندور may be اندور.

<sup>3</sup> He is so called in the lith. edn. and in all the MSS. Badāonī also calls him Muhammad Khān Auhadi, but we have previously had Amīr Khān, the son of Auhad Khān, according to the Tabaqāt and Shams Khān, son of Auhad Khān, according to Badāonī and Amīr Khān, son of Dāud Khān, according to Ferish-tah as the governor of Biānah.

<sup>4</sup> The name is doubtful. It is given as تہکر, Thakar, تہنکر, Thankar and بہکر, Bhakar. Badāonī says generally, receiving the submission of the Rāys of that district.



changed the Jāgīr of Malik Mahmūd Hasan, and gave Hisār Firoza to him, and Malik Rajab Nādirah got Multān.

<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Khān fled with his family and went into Miwāt. Some of his adherents who had separated from him, again joined him. At this time he heard that Malik Ahmad Maqbal Khānī had gone away with his army to Mahāwan, and had left Malik Khair-ud-dīn Tuhfah in the fort, and the city of Biānah was empty (i.e. unguarded). Muhammad Khān, taking advantage of this, and putting his trust in the zamindārs of Biānah, went there with a small force. The majority of the people of the town and the territory joined him. Malik Khair-ud-dīn could not hold the fort. He asked for quarter, and making the fort over, came to Dehli. Mubārak Shāh made Biānah over to Malik Mubārīz and sent him against Muhammad Khān. The latter shut himself up in the fort. Malik Mubārīz took possession of the territory and brought it into control. Muhammad Khān left a band of his special adherents in the fort, went alone by forced marches to the court of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī. Mubārak Shāh thought it expedient to send for Malik Mubārīz, and marched out in his own august person for the conquest of Biānah.

On the way a petition from Qādir Khān, governor of Kālpī, reached him to the effect that Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, was advancing with a well equipped army to attack Kālpī. Sultān Mubārak Shāh kept the matter of Biānah in abeyance and advanced to meet Sultān Ibrāhīm. At this time the Sharqī troops had attacked <sup>2</sup> Bhugaon and had advanced towards <sup>3</sup> Badāūn. Sultān Mubārak Shāh having

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī does not give any account of these transactions. He says nothing about Muhammad Khān's return to Biānah and his subsequent appeal to Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī. He begins the narration of the events of the year 831 A.H. with the arrival of ambassadors from Qādir Khān to inform Mubārak Shāh of the advance of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī to attack Kālpī.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. except one and the lith. edn. have got the name of this place as بهو کانو. One MSS. has بهو کالو. Badāonī has بهون کانون. Ferishtah has بهو کانو the same as the Tabaqāt. Bhongaon is in the Mainpuri district, 9½ miles east from Mainpuri town, at the junction of the Agra and Grand Trunk Roads. The town was founded according to tradition by Rājā Bhīm Sen who was cured of leprosy by bathing in the Jhil or lake. Hunter, Imp. Gaz. ii, 403, (as quoted by Col. Ranking, trans. vol. I, p. 386, note 3).

<sup>3</sup> Badāūn is about 50 miles north of Bhongaon. Col. Ranking, ibid note 4.

crossed the river <sup>1</sup> Jumna, attacked Mauẓa<sup>2</sup> Jartoli which was among the celebrated towns of Mawās; and from there went to Atrauli; and he sent <sup>4</sup> Mahmūd Hasan with ten thousand horsemen to attack Mukhtas Khān, brother of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, who had advanced against Itāwah. When Mahmūd Hasan came upon the Sharqī army, the latter unable to meet him, returned and went back to its own Sultan. Mahmūd Hasan waited for a few days and joined his own (i.e. Sultān Mubārak Shāh's) army.

Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī hugging the bank of the <sup>5</sup> Āb siāh, came near Burhanābad, one of the dependencies of <sup>6</sup> Mārharah. Mubārak Shāh advanced from Atrauli to the town of <sup>7</sup> Mālī Kotāh. The Sultān Sharqī seeing the greatness and splendour of Sultān Mubārak Shāh's army gave up the idea of carrying on the warfare and in the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal of the aforesaid year marched towards the town of Rapri. From that place he crossed the Jumna and went to Biānah; and encamped on the bank of the river of Kaithar. Mubārak Shāh crossed the Jumna near Chandwār and encamped at a distance of five *karohs* from (Sultān Ibrāhīm's) army. His troops attacked the outskirts of the latter army everyday, and seizing horses, and cattle and men, took them to their own army. For twenty days things went on like this, till on the 7th of the month of Jamādi-ul-ākhir of the aforesaid year, Sultān Sharqī mounted his horse with the determination of giving battle. Sultān Mubārak Shāh sent Mahmūd Hasan and Fateh Khān son of Sultān Muzaffar, and Zitrak Khān, and Islām Khān, and Malik Chaman the grand-

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī says در گذر نود یتل, at the ford of Nuh Patal.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. has جر تولی but all the MSS. and Badāonī, and Ferishtah, has جر تولی. Col. Ranking says he is unable to find the place.

<sup>3</sup> Atrauli is 16 miles from Aligarh town. Hunter, Imp. Gaz., p. 1as. Col. Ranking ibid p. 386.

<sup>4</sup> He was the ملك الشرق Malik-ush-Sharq.

<sup>5</sup> The lith. edn. has اب سیاه but the MSS. have اب سیاه. Badāonī has اب سیاه عرف کالی پانی i.e. the Kālīnī or the Kārāsū of the Malfūzāt-i-Taīmūrī.

<sup>6</sup> The lith. edn. and one of the MSS. omit مارمره, but all the other MSS. have the name as I have given it. Badāonī has after Burhānūbād که تعلق باتار داشت.

<sup>7</sup> Badāonī has Kotāh but Ferishtah has Mālī Kotāh.

son of Khān-i-Jahān, and Malik Kalū the superintendent of the elephants, and Malik Ahmad Maqbul Khānī to oppose him; and they fought from midday till evening; when they returned and sat down facing each other. On the <sup>1</sup> following day which would be the 17th of the month of Jamādi-ul-ākhir Sultān Sharqī started, and took the way to Jaunpūr: and Mubārak Shāh went to Gwālīār by way of <sup>2</sup> Hatkānat.

He took tribute from the Rāy of Gwālīār in accordance with the former practice; and then returned to Biānah. Although Muhammad Khān Auhadī made frantic efforts he accomplished nothing; and as he despaired of aid from Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī he prayed for quarter and came and rendered service to Mubārak Shāh. The Sultān drew the pen of pardon across his offences, and gave him protection; and on the 20th of the month of Rajab came out of the fort and went away towards Miwāt. The Sultān left Mahmūd Hasan to guard the fort and administer the province; and marching back arrived at Dehli on the 11th of the month Sh'abān 831 A.H. (1427 A.D.).

In the month of Shawwāl of the aforesaid year the Sultān had Malik Qaddu Miwātī seized and put to death, and sent Malik Sarwar to govern the province of Miwāt. Most of the inhabitants laid their places waste, and retired into the hills. <sup>3</sup> Jalāl Khān brother of Qaddu, and Ahmad Khān and Malik Fakhr-ud-din and all his relations assembled in the fort of <sup>4</sup> Andarun. Malik Sarwar after collecting the revenue returned towards the city. And in the month of Zi'qadeh news came that <sup>5</sup> Jasrat, son of Sheikhā Khokhar, had besieged Kalānūr, and Malik Sikandar the governor of Lahore who had gone to attack

<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. say روز دیگر که مقدمه ماه جمادی الآخر باشد, after giving the مقدمه of the month as the date of the battle. I cannot make this out unless روز دیگر means another day and not the next day.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says Mubārak Shah did not pursue Sultan Ibrāhīm, because both sides were Musalmans; as if this fact had suddenly dawned upon him. The place is هستکانت in all the MSS. The lith. edn. has هستکانت (?) which is probably Hastkānat. Badāonī has ستگانه Satgānah. and Fērishtah Halghāt.

<sup>3</sup> He had previously been called Jallu.

<sup>4</sup> Written so in one MS. and in the lith. edn. The other MSS. have ایندور and ایندر. Badāonī does not mention these events at all, but on a previous occasion he had mentioned Indor and Alwar as two forts in Miwāt.

<sup>5</sup> The name is spelt جسرٹ in the lith. edn. and in Badāonī, but the MSS. have جسرته.

him, had been defeated; and had returned to Lahore. Jasrat crossed the river Beās, and attempted to seize the fort of Jālandhar, but as he was unable to do this, he overran the neighbouring country and taking many prisoners again turned to Kalānūr. Mubārak Shāh sent orders to Zīrak Khān, governor of Sāmānah and Islām Khān, the amīr of Sirhind that they should help Malik Sikandar. But before they could arrive, Malik Sikandar taking Rāy Ghālib Kalānūrī and his forces with him, advanced to the river Beās. Jasrat came and confronted him, and being defeated went towards <sup>1</sup>Thīkah, and of the various kinds of plunder, all that he had taken in the districts round Jālandhar fell into the hands of Malik Sikandar's troops.

In the month of Muharram 832 A.H. (1428 A.D.) Malik Mahmūd Hasan came to Dehli, after putting down the disturbances which Muhammad Khān Auhadī had caused in Biānah. After that Sultān Mubārak Shah advanced to the foot hills of Miwāt, and came to Mahdorāi and stayed there for a few days. Jālāl Khān Miwātī and all the Miwātians, who were weak accepted the revenue demanded of them, and some of them came and rendered homage to the Sultān; and the Sultān returned to Dehli in the month of Shawwāl of the aforementioned year. About this time the news of the death of Malik Rajab Nādirah, the governor of Multān, came. The Sultān sent Malik Mahmūd Hasan to Multān, after conferring on him the title of 'Imād-ul-Mulk.

In the year 833 A.H. (1429 A.D.) the Sultān went with his army towards Gwālīār, and arrived there by way of Biānah; and having put down the disturbances in that country he went towards Hatkānat. The Rāy being routed retired among the <sup>2</sup>foot hills. The Sultān plundered his country, and taking a large number of the inhabitants prisoners came to <sup>3</sup>Rāprī, and transferring that

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have جسرته . Badāonī makes no mention of these events, he only mentions Jasrat's attack on Malik Sikandar in 835 A.H.

<sup>1</sup> This name is variously given in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. as, تهپکه, تهپکه, تهپکه, بتک, and بهکر . See note 4, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. and two of the MSS. have بکوة پایه در آمد but one MS. has بکوة پانه and another بکوةء ماسانه .

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. and several MSS. have را بری .

province from the son of <sup>1</sup>Hasan Khān made it over to Malik Hamzah; and in the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year returned (to Dehli). On the way Saiyad Sālim died, and the Sultān conferred the title of Sālim Khān on his elder and Shujā'-ul-Mulk on his other son. The aforesaid Saiyad had for a period of thirty years been in the service of Khizr Khān, the pardoned; and was one of the great amīrs, and for many years he had collected much treasure as the keeper of the fort of Tabarhindah. <sup>2</sup>In the month of Shawwāl of that year Faulād Turkbachah came into the fort of Tabarhindah and raised the standard of hostility. Mubārak Shāh imprisoned the sons of Saiyad Sālim and sent <sup>3</sup>Rāy Hanu Behti to Tabarhindah in order to put down Faulād, and to recover the property of Saiyad Sālim. When they arrived in the vicinity of Tabarhindah Faulād proposed terms of peace, and made them careless, and on the next day sallying out suddenly from the fort, made a night attack on the troops. Malik Yusuf and Rāy Hanu who knew nothing of the intended treachery, gave battle, but were defeated, and returned towards Sarsuti, and their equipage and goods fell into Faulād's hands; and became the cause of an increase of his strength and power. The Sultān hearing this news started towards Tabarhindah and amīrs, and troops from all directions came and joined the Sultān's army, and the zamindārs also came to render service. As Faulād had great strength, he shut himself up in the fort of Tabarhindah. Sultān Mubārak Shāh sent Zirak Khān, and Malik Kālū and Islām Khān and Kamāl Khān from the way to besiege Tabarhindah.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. as well as the lith. edn. have حسین خان but Badāonī has حسن خان.

<sup>2</sup> The facts are not clear. Badāonī says that Faulād who was a غلام ترکچہ one of the slaves of Saiyad Sālim revolted and took possession of Saiyad Sālim's immense hordes of treasure, but neither he nor the author of the Tabaqāt says that Saiyad Sālim's sons had anything to do with the revolt, but the fact that Mubārak Shāh imprisoned them points in that direction. Ferishtah says that the favours conferred on them were not sufficient to secure their fidelity and they incited Faulād Turkbachah.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī says that Malik Yusuf Sarwar and Rāy Hansu Behti were sent to Tabarhindah. In the Tabaqāt Malik Yusuf Sarwar is not mentioned in the first instance though Malik Yusuf is mentioned later on. The other name is given as رای ہپو, Rāy Hanu, رای بہو, Rāy Bhū, رای ہپو, Rāy Hapu and رای ہپو. Rāy Hīpu.

'Imād-ul-Mulk, the governor of Multān, was also summoned to put down Faulād's rebellion. In the month of Zi-hijjah of the aforesaid year 'Imād-ul-Mulk arrived at Sarsuti, and attended on the Sultān. As Faulād had faith on 'Imād-ul-Mulk's words he was sent to Tabarhindah to give assurances to Faulād. The latter talked a great deal but persisted in the revolt; and 'Imād-ul-Mulk came back to Mubārak Shāh without achieving his object.

The Sultān gave permission to 'Imād-ul-Mulk, in the month of Safar 834 A.H. (1430 A.D.) to return to Multān, and himself went back to Dehlī, leaving Islām Khān, and Kamāl Khān and Rāy Firoz Mū'in, to carry on the siege of Tabarhindah. 'Imād-ul-Mulk went there and having directed the amirs about the siege went to Multān. Faulād carried on the war for six months, and sent a large sum to Sheikh 'Ali Beg in Kābul, by trustworthy agents, and requested his help. Sheikh 'Ali started in the direction of Tabarhindah in the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal of that year. When he arrived within ten *karohs* from Tabarhindah, Islām Khān and Kamāl Khan, and all the amirs raised the siege, and went to their own governments. Faulād came out of the fort saw Sheikh 'Ali, and paid to him the sum of two lākhs Tankās promised by him. Sheikh 'Ali took <sup>1</sup> the family and children of Faulād with him, and returned, and having made the raiyats of the province of Jālandhar prisoners proceeded in the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year towards Lahore. Malik Sikandar paid to him the sum which he used to pay to him every year, and made him turn back. From there Sheikh 'Ali went to <sup>2</sup> Talwārah and tried to lay it waste. 'Imād-ul-Mulk came to the town of <sup>3</sup> Tulumba to oppose him. Sheikh 'Ali not having the strength to meet him went towards <sup>4</sup> Khatibpur. At this

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<sup>1</sup> Badāonī says Sheikh 'Ali took Faulād as well as his family and children with him.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī does not mention Talwārah here. He says Sheikh 'Ali made towards Dibālpūr and 'Imād-ul-Mulk came out from Multān to meet him. (See vol. I, p. 389, of the translation.) As regards Talwarah see note 2 p. 302.

<sup>3</sup> On the left bank of the Ravi, 52 miles N.-E. of Multān. It has been identified with a town of the Malli conquered by Alexander the Great during his campaign in the Punjab, and also as the place where he crossed the Ravi. Hunter, Imp. Gaz. XIII, p. 63 and also Cunningham, Anc. Geo. of India, p. 224, as given in note 2, p. 389 vol. I of the trans. of the Munt.-ut-Tawārīkh.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī has خوٹپور, Khūtpūr. Ferishtah has خطیب پور, Khatibpūr.

time the order of the Sultān came that <sup>1</sup> 'Imād-ul-Mulk should leave Tulumba and go to Multān, and on the 24th of the month of Sha'bān of the aforementioned year, he commenced his march towards Multān. Sheikh 'Ali who had become proud, crossed the river Rāwī near Kha-tibpūr and began to pillage and lay waste the parganas on the bank of the Jhīlam which are known as the Punjāb, and then turned towards Multān. When he arrived within ten *karohs* of Multān 'Imād-ul-Mulk sent Sultān Shah Lodī who was the uncle of Malik Bahlol Lodī to oppose him. He met Sheikh 'Ali on the way, and fighting with him attained to martyrdom, and a part of his army were slain, and the rest fled and returned to Multān. On the third day of the month of Ramazān of the aforementioned year Sheikh 'Ali encamped at <sup>2</sup> Khairābād, which is close to Multān; and <sup>3</sup> on the 4th Ramazān began a battle at the gate of the fort. 'Imād-ul-Mulk sent out the infantry so that they might keep Sheikh 'Ali's troops in the gardens, and the latter did nothing that day and went back to his encampment. He again began a battle on Friday the 27th Ramazān, and advanced on the fort, and many men were slain and Sheikh 'Ali turning back, took up his position in his own camp. In this way for some time the warfare went on.

Sultān Mubārak Shāh sent Fateh Khān son of Zafar Khān Gujrātī with celebrated amīrs such as <sup>4</sup> Zīrak Khān and Malik Kālū, superintendent of elephants, and Islām Khān, and Malik Yusuf, and Kamāl Khan and Ray Hanu Behti to help 'Imād-ul-Mulk. They arrived in the neighbourhood of Multān on the 26th of the month of

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī says 'Imād-ul-Mulk himself was defeated, and Malik Suleimān Shah Lodī, who was in the advance guard of the army, was slain. He is however called Sultān Shah Lodī in all the MSS. and the lith. edn. of the *Tabaqāt*.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says that after the battle in which 'Imād-ul-Mulk was defeated and Malik Suleimān Shah Lodī was slain, Sheikh 'Ali came to Khushrūbād. *Forishta* says that the battle took place at Khairābād 3 stages from Multān.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī does not give any of the details. He only says و مدتی مدید میان او (شیخ علی) و عماد الملک هر روز جنگ بود i.e. for a long time between him (i.e. Sheikh 'Ali) and 'Imād-ul-Mulk there were battles everyday.

<sup>4</sup> These names are not given by Badāonī, who says that Sultān Mubārak Shāh sent a very large force and made Fateh Khān, the son of Sultān Muzaffar Khān Gujrātī its commander. All the MSS. of the *Tabaqāt* and the lith. edn. agree in calling Fateh Khān's father Zafar Khan. There is much diversity about the name of Ray Hanu Behti in the MSS.

Shawwāl; and on the following day engaged Sheikh 'Ali and defeated him. The latter being no longer able to oppose them went into the entrenchment which he had erected round his army. He did not even stay there; crossed the river Jhilam and decided on flight. The majority of his troops were drowned, and a part were slain, and a part taken prisoners. He himself with a few followers went to the town of <sup>1</sup>Shūr; and his horses, and camels, and weapons, and all the equipage of his army were taken. 'Imād-ul-Mulk and all the amīrs pursued him as far as Shūr; Mir Muzaffar, Sheikh 'Ali's nephew entrenched himself there; and Sheikh 'Ali himself with a small band turned towards Kābul. The amīrs who had come to reinforce Imād-ul-Mulk started towards Dehli in accordance to orders. Mubārak Shāh transferred Multān from 'Imād-ul-Mulk and placed it in charge of Khairuddin Khānī.

At this time <sup>2</sup>Sheikhā Khokhar taking advantage of his opportunity, and gaining strength and power, commenced disturbance and rebellion. <sup>3</sup>Malik Sikandar Tuhfah advanced towards Jālandhar to put down the disturbance. Sheikhā collected a large force and coming out of the hills of <sup>4</sup>Sakar, and crossing the rivers Jhilam, and Rāwī and Biāh encamped on the bank of the river <sup>5</sup>Māin near Jālandhar and making Malik Sikandar careless, suddenly attacked him. The latter was defeated and taken prisoner. Sheikhā in great force went to Lahore and besieged it. Saiyad Najm-ud-dīn, Malik Sikandar's deputy, and Malik Khushkhabar, his slave, shut themselves up, and everyday engagements took place. At this time <sup>6</sup>Sheikh 'Ali again came from Kābul, and overran the country round Multān, and took the men of <sup>7</sup>Khatpūr and most of the villages on the bank of the

<sup>1</sup> The name is شور Shūr in the lith. edn. and in one MS. and سنور Sanūr, in the others. Badāonī has سنپور Sanpur or سینور Sīnūr. Ferishtah has شیور Shīwar which Col. Ranking has adopted.

<sup>2</sup> It is Sheikhā in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. Badāonī has Jasrath.

<sup>3</sup> He was the governor of Lahore.

<sup>4</sup> Two of the MSS. have سکر , Sakar, others have بتکہ Batkah, and بتکر Batkar. The lith. edn. has تہکر Thakar. Badāonī has no name.

<sup>5</sup> The MSS. have مین , Mīn, and سین Sīn. The lith. edn. has مئین Mā'in.

<sup>6</sup> According to Ferishtah, at the instigation of Jasrat.

<sup>7</sup> It is خط پور in the lith. edn. The MSS. have خطپور Khatpūr.



Jhīlam prisoner. And on the 17th of Rabi'-ul-āwwal of the aforesaid year he arrived in the town of <sup>1</sup>Talambah, and having got the residents of the place by promises and terms of agreement into his power, made the well-known men among them prisoners, and took possession of the fort. He slew some of the Musalmāns, and, <sup>2</sup>released some, and various calamities happened to them. And at this time Faulād Turkbachah leaving Tabarhindah with a force overran the country of Rāy Firoz, and the latter was killed in battle. Sultān Mubārak heard of these events, marched towards Lahore and Multān in the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal of that year, and made Malik Sarwar the commander of the advance guard. When the latter reached Sāmānah, Sheikhā Khokhar abandoned the siege, and going towards the foot hills of <sup>3</sup>Sakar took Malik Sikandar with him. Sheikh 'Alī being afraid of the army of Sultān Mubārak Shāh, turned back and went to <sup>4</sup>Balūt. Sultān Mubārak Shāh transferred Lahore from <sup>5</sup>Malik-ush-Sharq 'Imād-ul-Mulk and made it over to Nasrat Khān Gurg-āndāz. Malik Sarwar brought the family and dependants of Malik-ush-Sharq from the fort of Lahore and sent them to Dehli.

And in the month of Zihijjeh of the aforesaid year Sheikhā again came out of the hills with a large force; and having harassed some parganas went back to the hills. At this time Sultān Mubārak Shāh had his camp in the town of Pānīpat on the bank of the Jumna; and having stayed there for some time, and sent 'Imād-ul-Mulk with a well equipped army, in the month of Ramazān of that year, for the subjugation of the Zamindārs of Biānah and Gwālīār, returned to Dehli.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have تلبه . The lith. edn. and Badāonī have طليبه .

<sup>2</sup> According to Badāonī he was not so merciful. He says و مردم انرا بتمام دستگیر و نهب و تاراج ساخت و اکثری را بکشت و بقیه را از صغار و کبار بولایت خود برد i.e. he took all the men of the place prisoners and pillaged and destroyed them, he slew most of them and took the remainder both great and small into his own country.

<sup>3</sup> See note 4, page 315.

<sup>4</sup> Three MSS. have بلوت , Balūt, one has بارتوت Bārtūt, and one مالوت Mālūt, and the lith. edn. has مارتوت Mārtut. Badāonī says Sheikh 'Alī retired to his own country.

<sup>5</sup> Badāonī says it was Shams-ul-Mulk from whom the Government of Lahore and Jālandhar was taken to be made over to Nasrat Khān Gurg-āndāz. As a matter of fact Malik Sikandar appears to have been the governor of Lahore and neither 'Imād-ul-Mulk nor Shams-ul-Mulk. 'Imād-ul-Mulk had been governor of Multān till it was taken from him, and made over to Khair-ud-dīn Khānī.

And in the month of Muharram <sup>1</sup>836 A.H. (1433 A.D.) (the Sultān) marched out to put down the disturbances in the country of Sāmānah and sent Malik Sarwar to attack Faulād Turkbacha. The latter entrenched himself and went on fighting. <sup>2</sup>Malik Sarwar left Zīrak Khān, and Islām Khān with a large army round the fort of Tabarhindah and himself went to attend on the Sultān. The latter disallowed his return; and took away Lahore and Jālandhar from Nasrat Khān, and made them over to Malik <sup>3</sup>Ilhādād Lodi. When the latter reached the country of Jālandhar Sheikhā crossed the river Biāh and gave him battle. Malik Ilhādād was defeated and retired towards the foot hills of <sup>4</sup>Kothi Bajwāra, and the insurrection of Sheikhā became stronger.

The Sultān marched towards Miwāt in the month of Rabī'-ul-āwwal of the afore-mentioned year; and when he arrived at the town of <sup>5</sup>Nāwar. <sup>6</sup>Jalāl Khān Miwātī shut himself up with a large

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī says that in 836 A.H. the Sultān went to Sāmānah to put down the rebellion of Jasrat, but this is not mentioned in the Tabaqāt except that in two MSS. the name of Jasrat occurs, but the sentence is apparently incorrect and meaningless. It is this عماد الملك را بالشكر اراسته در ماه رمضان سنه مذکور . Badāonī also say, that at this time Mubārak Shah's mother, who was known as Makhdūm-i-Jahān died at Dehli; and he went to Dehli from the camp with a small retinue, and after performing the rites of mourning went back to the camp; but there is no mention of this in the Tabaqāt.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. have ملک-سرور وزیرک خان و اسلام &c. خان را بالشکر بسیار, but this does not make sense; so I have omitted the conjunction, and between Malik Sarwar and Zīrak Khān.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī calls him الهداد کالو لودی. In two of the MSS. of the Tabaqāt he is called الهداد و کنکالودی, in one الهداد کنکالودی, while the others and the lith. edn. call him الهداد لودی.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī says that Malik Ilhādād was defeated at Bajwārah which Col. Ranking in a note says is a village  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles E. of Hoshiarpur and about 25 miles N.E. of Jalandhar. Badāonī does not name the foot hills to which he retired; but only says he retired to the کوه پایه.

<sup>5</sup> The lith. edn. has پارود بقصد which is manifestly incorrect. The MSS. all have بقصبة to the town of, correctly; but the name of the town is given variously as ناور, باور, ناورد. Badāonī does not give any name.

<sup>6</sup> Badāonī does not give these details, and he simply says بر سر جلال خان در مہوات لشکر کشید

force in the fort of Andarūn. The next day Jalāl Khān fled out of the fort; and the grain and things stored in it fell into the Sultān's hands. The latter marched from there and going to Tajārah laid waste the greater part of the country. Jalāl Khān then came with humility and made his submission, and paid the revenue according to previous custom. 'Imād-ul-Mulk came with a large force from the country of Bīānah and paid his respects. The Sultān sent Malik Kamāl-ud-dīn with a few other noblemen for the purpose of putting into order the country of Gwālīār and Itāwah; and in the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal of that year went to Dehl.

About this time news came that Sheikh 'Ali was marching against the Amīrs who were besieging Tabarhindah. The Sultān sent an army to reinforce the Amīrs. At this time Sheikh 'Ali came by forced marches from <sup>1</sup>Shur and overran the country on the banks of the river Biāh, and taking a great number of people as prisoners went towards Lahore, and <sup>2</sup>Malik Yusuf and Malik Ismael who were the governors of the city, shut themselves up and placed the shield of prohibition in front of them, and made very great efforts in the defence of the fort and the city. But when they became aware of the hostility of the residents of the city, they decided upon flight and left the fort. Sheikh 'Ali sent troops to pursue them; and they

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> Badāoni gives a different account. He says وزیرک خان و دیگر امرا کہ در لاہور بودند معاصر شدند و باو جنگ می کردند تا شبی ساکنان در پاسبانی و بزرگی تسامع و رزیدند و ملک یوسف سرور الملک و ملک اسمعیل شبی اتفاق بازیرک خان نموده بیرون آمدند و جنگ کرده منہزم شدند \*

Col. Ranking translates this thus "Zirak Khān and the other amīrs who were in Lahore fortified themselves there, and fought repeated engagements with him, till one night the inhabitants of Lahore were, careless about their guards and sentries, and Malik Yusuf Sarwar-ul-Mulk and Malik Ismail under cover of night succeeded in joining Zirak Khān, then sallying from the fort, gave battle and were defeated." This does not appear to me to be accurate. Col. Ranking's translation implies that Sarwar-ul-Mulk and Malik Ismail got into the fort owing to the carelessness of the guards and joined Zirak Khān and sallied out; whereas it appears to me that they were in the city from the beginning and they left it on account of their suspicion about the loyalty of the citizens. This is clearly the meaning of the version of the Tabaqāt, and I think it is also the meaning of Badāoni's version.

slew a great host, and took some prisoners; Malik Rājā who was one of the chief men was among the prisoners. Sheikh 'Alī having taken possession of Lahore completely plundered and destroyed it; and commenced the reconstruction of the fort, and leaving two thousand selected horsemen to defend the city<sup>1</sup> turned towards Dībālpūr. Malik Yusuf who after leaving the fort of Lahore had taken shelter in the fort of Dībālpūr remained shut up in it. When news of these events reached 'Imād-ul-Mulk at Tabarhindah, he sent his brother Malik Ahmad with a large force to help Malik Yusuf. Sheikh 'Alī left Dībālpūr, on the arrival of the reinforcements; and took possession of the town between Lahore and Dībālpūr.

In the month of Jamādī-ul-ākhīr of the aforesaid year, when the news of the trouble and disturbance caused by Sheikh 'Alī reached Muḥarak Shāh, he marched to Sāmānah, and waited for a few days for the assembling of the troops. When Malik Kamāl-ud-dīn, and some other Amīrs arrived, he marched to Talwandī. 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Islām Khān, who were nominated for Tabarhindah came and offered homage. A firman was sent to other Amīrs to leave the neighbourhood of Tabarhindah. He himself went with great rapidity to the ford of <sup>2</sup> Pūht. Sheikh 'Alī turned and fled. Sultān Muḥarak Shāh arrived at the neighbourhood of Dībālpūr, Sheikh 'Alī had then crossed the river Chināb. The Sultān conferred the title of Shams-ul-Mulk on Malik Sikandar Tuhfah, who had been released from the imprisonment into which Sheikhā Khokhar had thrown him, and made him governor of Dībālpūr and Jālandhar, and sent him in pursuit of Sheikh 'Alī. The latter had however<sup>3</sup> escaped, leaving <sup>4</sup> Muzaffar his nephew in the fort of <sup>5</sup> Shur, and portions of his equipage and arms had fallen into the hands of the troops of Shams-ul-Mulk. The Sultān crossed the river Rāvi opposite to Talambah, and besieged the fort of Shur. Muzaffar struggled for a month, and at last with great humility knocked on the door of peace, and gave

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. differ considerably I have taken the reading which appears to me to be correct; and agrees generally with the account given by Bada'oni.

<sup>2</sup> See note 3, p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> بدر رفته lit. gone out.

<sup>4</sup> Bada'oni calls him امیر مظفر Amīr Muzaffar and in the English translation he is described Amīr Muzaffar Khān.

<sup>5</sup> See note 1, p. 315.

his own daughter, with much tribute, to the son of Sultān Mubārak Shāh. The Sultān turning back, sent Shams-ul-Mulk to Lahore and the troops of Sheikh 'Alī who were in Lahore sued for quarter in the month of Shawwāl of the aforementioned year, and evacuated the fort. Shams-ul-Mulk took possession of it. When Mubārak Shāh had completed his work in connection with Shūr and Lahore, he went with <sup>1</sup>a light retinue on a pilgrimage to (the tombs of) the Sheikhs of Multān; and from there came to Dibālpūr.

As he had no better (officer) than 'Imād-ul-Mulk, he took the provinces of Dibālpūr and Jālandhar from Shams-ul-Mulk and conferred them on him; and Bianāh which was the Jāgir of 'Imād-ul-Mulk was transferred to Shams-ul-Mulk. The Sultān then <sup>2</sup>went to Dehli. As the duties of the Vazārat could not be carried out by Sarwar-ul-Mulk, and Malik Kamāl-ud-dīn was <sup>3</sup>trustworthy in all matters, the Sultān made over the affairs of the nobles to his jurisdiction, and decided, that the two should attend to all affairs in consultation with each other. 'Malik Kamāl-ud-dīn was a man of understanding and experience; he became the refuge of the people, and gained an ascendancy in the discharge of official matters. Sarwar-ul-Mulk had been hurt in his feelings on account of the transfer of Dibālpūr and his old Jāgirs and became hostile through envy, and made the sons of <sup>4</sup>Kānku and Kāju who had been brought up by this (i.e. the Sultan's) family, and had acquired wealth and followers join him, and having made the <sup>5</sup>Mirān-Sadr Nāib 'Ariz Mumālik and Qāzi Abdus Samad

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<sup>1</sup> special chamberlain also join him in the enmity, was on the lookout for an opportunity. At this time Sultân Mubârak Shâh laid the foundations of a city on the bank of the river Jumna on the 17th day of the month of Rabi'ul-âwwal 837 A.H. (1433 A.D.) and called it Mubârakâbâd.

At this time the news of the victory at Tabarhindah and the head of Faulâd Turkbachah were brought to Dehli. Sultân Mubârak Shâh went to Tabarhindah on the <sup>2</sup> pretext of hunting there, and, in a short time, having made the zamindârs of that country obedient to orders and submissive, came back to Mubârakâbâd. At this time intelligence was brought that warfare was going on between Sultân Ibrahim Sharqi and Sultân Hoshang Mâlwi at Kâlpi, and Sultân Mubârak Shâh started for Kâlpi in the month of Jamâdi-ul-âkhir of the aforementioned year, after issuing *farmans* summoning the amirs of the provinces; and encamping in the neighbourhood of Dehli waited there for a few days to enable the troops to assemble. It so happened that on Friday the 9th of the month of Rajab 837 A.H. <sup>3</sup> Sultân Mubârak Shâh went to superintend the works at Mubârakâbâd; and he had no one with him except a few particular and intimate companions. Sarwar-ul-Mulk, who was waiting for an opportunity, gave a signal to the desperate men who had conspired with him; and they

۱. خاکی حاجب ۱

<sup>2</sup> Doubtless after his own name; but Badâ'oni indulges in a pun on the meaning of the word Mubârak (auspicious), and says مبارک آباد که در معنی خراباب بود و مبارک آباد (the auspicious city) though in meaning (i.e. in reality) it was Kharâbâbâd (or the city of ruin); in allusion to the fact that the Sultân was assassinated there.

<sup>3</sup> The use of the words بهانه pretext, is explained by the followings passage in Badâ'oni مبارک شاه ازین خوشحالی در یوست نگنجیده بایلغار بجانب تبریز رفت from which it appears that he did not really go on a hunting excursion, but was so overjoyed at the news that he was ready to jump out of his skin and could not deny himself the pleasure of paying a hurried visit to Tabarhindah.

<sup>4</sup> Badâ'oni does not give the date but he gives some details. He says روزی با جمعی محدود بی تکلانہ بدان جانب سوار شده استعداد نماز جمعه میکرد. کافران میران صدر که باغواي سرور الملک پیوسته در کمین بوده فرصت وقت می جستند، اتفاق کرده در محل مبارک شاهي به بهانه در آمد و سده پال نبیره کجوى کهتري بدبخت ان بادشاه سعيد را شهيد ساخت .

at once lifted up their swords, and made Sultān Mubārak Shāh a martyr. The period of his reign was thirteen years, three months and sixteen days.

MUHAMMAD SHĀH, <sup>1</sup> SON OF MUBĀRAK SHĀH, SON OF  
KHIZR KHĀN.

Muhammad Shāh was the son of Shāhzādah Farīd son of Khizr Khān. As Mubārak Shāh had called him his son, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* which was written in his (Mubārak Shāh's) reign has mentioned him as the son of Mubārak Shāh. The author of the *Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhi* has described him as the son of Farīd Shāhzādah. And in other histories the sonship of Mubārak Shāh has been attributed to him. In this book also the relationship has been mentioned, as it is ordinarily known.

In short in the late hours of the Friday on which Sultān Mubārak Shāh attained to martyrdom, Sultān Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne of sovereignty by consent of the amīrs and the great pillars (officers) of state. Sarwar-ul-Mulk, although he had outwardly declared his allegiance, still kept possession of the paraphernalia of sovereignty, such as the treasury, the elephants and the armoury. Sarwar-ul-Mulk received the title of Khān-i-Jahān, and Mirān Sadr that of Muft-ul-Mulk. <sup>2</sup> Malik-ush-Sharq Kamāl-ud-dīn waited for an opportunity for avenging the murder of Mubārak Shāh against Sarwar-ul-Mulk and Mirān Sadr and <sup>3</sup> all the base ungrateful wretches. On the day following the accession of Muhammad Shāh, Sarwar-ul-Mulk sent for such of the slaves of Mubārak Shāh, as possessed any forces, on the pretext of their declaring their allegiance, and seized some of them and <sup>4</sup> put them to death and imprisoned others, such as Karamchand and

<sup>1</sup> This is the reading of all the MSS. and the lith. edn. Muhammad Shāh however was really the son of Farīd Khān and he is described as such by Badāonī. The reason why he is called the son of Mubārak Shāh is explained in the opening lines of the account of his reign in the *Tabaqāt*.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says he resided outside the city بیرون شهر توطن اختیار نمود and he seems to have remained quiescent, and it was Sarwar-ul-Mulk that took aggressive steps.

<sup>3</sup> The actual words سایر حرام خواران.

<sup>4</sup> There are some variations in the readings. One MS. omits بعضی را and reads کریم چند ملک before سیاست کرد و

Malik Maqbūl and Malik Fatūh ; and began to make all sorts of efforts for completely destroying the Mubārak Shāhi slaves. He also kept in his own possession the parganas in the vicinity of the capital, which were the epitome and the select (i.e. the most valuable) of all ; and distributed a few amongst the other Amirs, and he made over the parganas of Biānah, and Amroha, and Narnol and Kuhrām and some parganas in the Doāb to <sup>1</sup> Sidh Pāl and Sidhāran and their relations. He also sent <sup>2</sup> Abu Shah his own slave to <sup>3</sup> Biānah for collecting the (arrear) revenue of some years. The latter arrived in the town of Biānah on the 12th of the aforesaid month, and tried to seize the fort. Yusuf Khān Auhadi receiving information of this, came to Biānah from <sup>4</sup> Hindwan, and fought with and slew Abu Shah, and the members of his family, and his sons were taken prisoners. As the ingratitude of Sarwar-ul-Mulk was patent to everybody, most of the amirs, who had been nourished by the salt of Khizr Khān and Sultān Mubārak Shāh were thinking how they could do for him. Sarwar-ul-Mulk was also planning how he could seize them. At this time news came that <sup>5</sup> Ithadad Kakā Lodi governor of Sambal and <sup>6</sup> Āhār, and Malik Chaman governor of Badāūn, and Amir ‘Alī Gujrāti, and Amir

فتح for فتح. Ferishtah also has كرم چند before ملك and has فتح for فتح. he also says that Sarwar-ul-Mulk conferred the title of Khān-i-‘āzam Saiyad Khān on the son of Saiyed Sāhū, and large Jūgirs, to bring him to his own side, and that he intended ultimately to make himself the Sultān.

<sup>1</sup> There are some variations in these names. Badāonī describes them as Sidh Pāl and Sidharan Khetri and describes them as the قاتل or murderers of Mubārak Shāh. Sidh Pāl was the man who according to Badāonī, actually cut down the Sultān (see note 4, p. 321).

<sup>2</sup> He is called Abu Shah in the lith. edn. and some MSS. and نبشہ in other MSS. Badāonī calls him رانوں سیہ Rānūn Siāh, the slave of Sidh Pāl.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī also has Biānah, but the lith. edn. of Ferishtah has Sāmānah which is of course incorrect.

<sup>4</sup> Col. Ranking says that the text and both MSS. read هندون which he transliterates as Hindūn but Ferishtah has هندوان Hindwān, so he adopts that. He also says that Hindaun which is nearer هندون than هندوان is about 20 miles south of Biānah and is situated in the Jaypur State.

<sup>5</sup> That is how he is called in most of the MSS. In one MS. and in the lith. edn. and in Ferishtah (lith. edn.) he is called Ithadād Lodi. Badāonī, calls him Ithadād Kālū Lodi.

<sup>6</sup> In Buland Shahr district, U.P., 20 miles north-west of Buland Shahr.



<sup>1</sup> Kabīk Turkbachah had raised the standard of hostility; and Sarwar-ul-Mulk sent <sup>2</sup> Kamāl-ud-dīn, and Saiyad Khān, and Yusuf Khān, younger son of Sidhāran Kānkū to crush their rebellion. Kamāl-ud-dīn encamped on the bank of the Jumna in the month of Ramazān. He went from there to the town of Baran and waited there with the object of avenging the murder of Mubārak Shāh on the son of Sarwar-ul-Mulk and on Sidhāran. Malik Ilhadād knowing Kamāl-ud-dīn to be a friend did not advance from Āhār. Sarwar-ul-Mulk was now aware of Kamāl-ud-dīn's treachery and sent <sup>3</sup> Malik Hushyār his slave on the pretext of helping Kamāl-ud-dīn, so that being aware of his treachery he might attend to the safety of Yusuf and Sidhāran. At this time Malik Chaman came to Āhār, and joined Malik Ilhadād. Malik Yusuf and Sidhāran and Hushyār were already suspicious of the treachery of Kamāl-ud-dīn; and their suspicion increased; and they separated themselves from the army, and came to Dehli; and in the end of the month of Ramazān Malik Ilhadād and Malik Chaman with the other amīrs who were of the same opinion as themselves joined Kamāl-ud-dīn. The latter then with a great force turned towards Dehli and Sarwar-ul-Mulk shutting himself up in the fort of Dehli <sup>4</sup> fought with them for a period of three months.

At this time the news of the death of Zirak Khān, governor of Sāmānah, reached Dehli. His Jagir was entrusted to his son Muhammad Khān. Muhammad Shāh, although outwardly he remained on friendly terms with the people in the fort, yet waited for the right

<sup>1</sup> This name is given as کبیک and کیک in the MSS. Badāonī does not give his name at all. Ferishtah calls him کنک, Kank.

<sup>2</sup> There is a great deal of diversity and doubt about these names. I have adopted the reading which appeared to be the most correct on a comparison of the MSS. and the lith. edn. Badāonī names Malik-ush-Sharq Kamāl-ul-Mulk and Saiyad Khān son of Saiyad Sālim as the two who were actually nominated, but Malik Yusuf son of Sarwar-ul-Mulk and Sidhāran and Kānkū also were appointed to go with them. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) says that Sarwar-ul-Mulk sent Saiyad Khān and Sidhāran and Yusuf Khān his own son with Kamāl-ul-Mulk.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī calls him Sarwar-ul-Mulk's Nāib, and says he was sent on the pretext of helping Malik Kamāl-ud-dīn, but really as a spy.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī gives some details of the fighting.

moment and right opportunity for avenging the murder of his father; and Sarwar-ul-Mulk also being cognisant of this waited for an opportunity for murdering Muhammad Shāh. Suddenly on the 8th of Muharram 838 A.H. (1434 A.D.) Sarwar-ul-Mulk and the sons of Mirān Sadr deceitfully and treacherously lifted up their swords, and came into the pavilion of Muhammad Shāh. The latter, for fear of these, was always accompanied by a large body of his friends and well-wishers, and was always ready to fight. They killed Sarwar-ul-Mulk on the spot; and seizing the sons of Mirān Sadr had them punished in front of the *darbār*. Couplet:—

The gazelle that seeks the lion to fight,

The earth with its blood becomes tulip-red.

Sidh Pāl and other base wretches shut themselves up, and prepared for battle. Muhammad Shāh brought Kamāl-ud-dīn into the city. Sidh Pāl set fire to his house and making his wife and son food for fire, was slain. By order of Muhammad Shāh, Sidhārān, Kanku and the <sup>2</sup> Khetris who had been seized were all punished near the <sup>3</sup> *Khatirah* of Mubārak Shah. Malik Hushyār and Mubārak Kotwāl were beheaded in front of the red gate.

On the next day Kamāl-ud-dīn, with all the amīrs who were outside the fort, did fresh homage to Muhammad Shāh; and in concert with the people in general seated him on the throne of sovereignty. Kamāl-ud-dīn received the post of Vazārat, and the title of Kamāl Khān. Malik Chaman received the title of Ghāzi-ul-Mulk, and the districts of Amroha and Badāun were confirmed to him as before. Malik Ilhadād Lodi did not accept any title for himself

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī is more explicit. سده پالا بدبخت آتش در خان مان خود زد و جوهر (که بزبان فندی مشهور است) کرده خود بچنگ بیوست و علف آتش تیغ بدربخ گشت.

<sup>2</sup> There is some difficulty about this word. The lith. edn. has کهرمانی and the MSS. have کهرمانی, کهرمانی, کهرمانی. Badāonī has سدھارن; from which it is clear that the doubtful word is کهرمانی. As to the punishment Badāonī says بردار سیاست کردند, i.e. were impaled. Ferishtah says بعقوبت تمام بقتل رسیدند were put to death with great tortures.

<sup>3</sup> خطیرہ literally means an enclosure, but here it means a tomb enclosed by walls or a palisade.

but took the title of Daryā Khān for his <sup>1</sup> brother. Malik <sup>2</sup> Khutarāj, Mubārak Khān got the title of Iqbāl Khān and the district of Hisār Firoza was confirmed to him as before; and all the amīrs were honoured with rewards and increase of stipends. The elder son of Saiyad Sālim got the title of Majlis-i-ʿĀli Saiyad Khān, and his younger son Shujāʾ-ul-Mulk; and <sup>3</sup> Malik Badah, ʿAlā-ul-Mulk. Malik Rukn-ud-dīn was made Nasir-ul-Mulk; and <sup>4</sup> Malik-ush-Sharq Hājī was made Shahna (Superintendent) of Dehli.

In the month of Rabīʾ-ul-āwwal of the afore-mentioned year, Muhammad Shāh travelled towards Multān. At the camp at Mubārakpūr most of the amīrs such as <sup>5</sup> Imād-ul-Mulk, and Islām Khān, and Muhammad Khān son of Nasrat Khān, and Yusuf Khān Auhadī, and Iqbāl Khān, and all the royal servants came and joined him. Muhammad Shāh, after making pilgrimages to the shrines of the

<sup>1</sup> Only one MS. has برادر خود, his younger brother; the other MSS., the lith. edn., Badāonī and Ferishtah all have only برادر خود, his brother.

<sup>2</sup> The name is doubtful and its meaning is not at all clear. One MS. has کهری تراج مبارک خان. other MSS. have کهنوتراج مبارک خان, the lith. edn. has کهنوتراج مبارک خان. Ferishtah has کهنوتراج مبارک خانی, but Briggs does not give the name, but includes him among the rest of the nobles. Badāonī does not name him at all.

<sup>3</sup> He is called Malik Badah ملک بدہ in most of the MSS., but in one he is called Malik Saīda and in one Malik Sadah, and ملک صدہ in the lith. edn. He is not mentioned either by Badāonī or by Ferishtah.

<sup>4</sup> He is Malik-ush-Sharq Hājī or Jājī or Hājib in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. He is not mentioned by Badāonī. Ferishtah calls him حاجی مندلی

Sheikhs of Multān, and leaving Khān-i-Khānān there, returned the same year to Dehli, and in the year 840 A.H. (1436 A.D.) he marched towards Sāmānah, and sent an army against <sup>1</sup> Sheikhā Khokhar and after laying waste his country came to Dehli.

In the year 841 A.H. (1437 A.D.) news was brought that owing to the turbulence of a band of <sup>2</sup> Lankahs there was disturbance in Multān. News also came that Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī had taken possession of some parganas; and the Rāy of Gwāliār and other Rāys were withholding payment of revenue. As the vein of honour was not in motion in Muhammad Shāh and indolence and carelessness prevailed on him, a madness was produced in every head and a hankering in every heart. :—Couplet :—

When the Shāh his domain forgets to rule,  
Every head doth hanker after it.

Some of the <sup>3</sup> Miwātī amīrs summoned Sultān Mahmūd Khilji the hādshāh of Malwah; and in the year 844 A.H. (1440 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd arrived in Dehli. Muhammad Shāh having arrayed his troops sent his own son outside (the fort or the city) and made Malik Bahlol Lodi the commander of the vanguard. Sultān Mahmūd Khilji also sent his two sons <sup>4</sup> Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn and Qadn Khān. From morning till evening the dust of disturbance and battle rose; and at night both parties returned and took up their position in their own places. The next day Muhammad Shāh proposed peace.

<sup>1</sup> One MS. has *جسرت و شیخا*. Badāonī also has Sheikhā here, but Ferishtah has Jasrat.

<sup>2</sup> They are so called in all the MSS. (except in one where they are called *لنگ* which is evidently a mistake) and in the Persian text of Badāonī. In the Persian text of Ferishtah they are called *لنگه*. Col. Ranking calls them "the tribe of Langāhs," and Col. Briggs "the Afghāns called Lunga."

<sup>3</sup> Some of the MSS. have *بعضی میواتیان*, one has *بعضی امرا میواتیان*, the lith. edn. has *بعضی امرای*. Badāonī has *خانہ زادہای میرات*.

<sup>4</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. prefix Sultān before the name of Ghiās-ud-dīn. As to the second name they have Qadn and Fadn and Fadāin Khān. The lith. edn. has *قدر*. Badāonī has Ghiās-ud-dīn without the Sultān and Madn Khān, but Col. Ranking has Qadr Khān in the translation and he says in a note that "the text has *مدن خان* and MS. A. *قدن خان*, but Ferishtah has *قدر خان* and so has the Tabaqāt Akbari." Ferishtāh has Ghiās-ud-dīn and Qadr Khan but the MSS. of the Tabaqāt Akbari that I have seen have not got Qadr Khān.

In the meanwhile news was brought to Sultān Mahmūd that <sup>1</sup> Sultān Ahmad Gujrātī was advancing towards Mandu. He therefore consented to a settlement, and turned back. And this peace became the cause of a greater humiliation for Muhammad Shāh, in the eyes and in the hearts (of men). As Sultān Mahmūd started on his return journey Malik Bahlol Lodī pursued him and seized as plunder a <sup>2</sup> part of his camp equipage and heavy baggage. Muhammad Shāh was very pleased with this service rendered by Malik Bahlol, honoured him with royal favours and called him by the name of son.

In the year 845 A.H. (1441 A.D.) Sultān Muhammad Shāh marched towards Sāmānah; and having made Dībālpūr and Lahore over to Malik Bahlol, and sending him to destroy Jasrat Khokhar, himself returned to Dehli. Jasrat made peace with Malik Bahlol, and <sup>3</sup> gave him the pleasant hope of his becoming Sultān of Dehli. The ambition of becoming the Sultān having entered his head, Malik Bahlol commenced to collect men; and summoned Afghāns from all sides and directions, and retained them (in his service). In a very

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī does not say so. He says سلطان محمود این معنی را غنیمت دانسته و خواب دیدن خرابی ملک مالو را بهانه ساخته شبشب جریده بجانب مالو کرد, i.e. Sultān Mahmūd taking advantage of this (i.e. of the proposal of peace) and making a pretext of having seen the ruin of the kingdom of Mālwah in a dream, started at night in light order for Mālwah. Both the Sultāns appear to have vied with each other in pusillanimity. According to Ferishtah however Sultān Muhammad was the worse coward of the two. He says, that in spite of the pomp and vast number of his army Sultān Muhammad repeatedly said that there was no necessity of his mounting to face the enemy; that his troops gained a victory mainly through the bravery of Bahlol Lodī; that in the night Sultān Mahmūd had his dream; and in the morning heard of the invasion of Mālwah by Sultān Ahmad, but he could not for very shame propose terms of peace, when Sultān Muhammad without any reason or necessity and without consulting anybody sent proposals of peace.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishtah says جمعی کثیر را بقتل رسانید و مال و غنای بسیار بدست آورد, i.e. slew a large body and seizing much property and wealth preserved the honour of the Dehli army.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī has به بشارت سلطنت دہلی مبشر ساخت. Ferishtah says و ملک بہلول در ولایت لاہور بغایت قوی شدہ افغانان بسیار برو جمع آمدند و جسرت و کھکرو باو طریق دوستی پیمودہ ببادشاهی دہلی ترغیب داد. It appears that the wily Jasrat, like the witches in Macbeth, all hailed Bahlol as Sultān of Dehli.

short time a great multitude joined him; and he took possession of many parganas in his neighbourhood; and laying the foundation of hostility with Sultān Muhammad Shāh, with little ostensible reason, with great pomp and power, marched on Dehli, and having besieged it for a considerable time, returned without attaining his object. The <sup>1</sup> affairs of Sultān Muhammad Shāh declined from day to day, and things came to such a pass that amīrs who were within twenty *Karohs* of Dehli, having turned their heads from obedience (to Dehli), openly declared their independence. At last in the year <sup>2</sup> 847 A.H. (1443 A.D.) Sultān Muhammad Shah returned the deposit of his life to its giver. The period of his reign was ten years and some months.

Verse:—Such is the custom of the revolving age;  
It gives now kindness, and hardship now;  
To hope from it for faith and loyalty,  
Is like to hope for light from dim <sup>3</sup> Suhā;  
For two days is its fickle unstable love;  
No sign there is in its face of faith and truth.

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<sup>1</sup> Ferishtāh also has *سلطنت محمد شاه روز بروز سستی پذیرفته* Col. Briggs leaving out the first two words translates the rest, as becoming day by day weaker; as if the passage referred to the Sultān's health.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. give 847 A.H. as the year of his death. The lith. edn. has 844 A.H. which is manifestly incorrect. Badāonī has 847 A.H. as the year of the Sultān's death, but he gives him a reign of 14 years and some months which is certainly incorrect. Ferishtah says Sultān Muhammad Shāh died in 849 A.H. Col. Ranking thinks that Ferishtah's date is probably correct and has a fairly long note in support of it. He says that there is no evidence to show that Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn ascended the throne in 847 A.H. and as Sultān Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne in 837 A.H. and Ferishtah says he reigned for 12 years, he must have died in 849 A.H.; but there is no reason, why if Ferishtah made a mistake about the year of Muhammad Shāh's death he should not have made a mistake about the length of his reign also. Col. Ranking says we should accept Ferishtah's plain and coincident statement. The difficulty however is that neither Ferishtah himself nor any other historian says what happened in the five years between 845 A.H. and 849 A.H. There is of course a similar difficulty about there being no mention of any event between 845 A.H. and 847 A.H. supposing that to be the correct date of Muhammad Shāh's death and between 847 A.H. and 850 A.H. when Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn marched towards Sāmānah.

<sup>3</sup> Suhā is the name of an obscure Star in the Lesser Bear.

SULTĀN 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN SON OF MUHAMMAD SHĀH, SON OF  
MUBĀRAK SHAH, SON OF KHIZR KHĀN.

On the death of Sultān Muhammad Shāh the amirs and the great officers of State seated his son on the throne of sovereignty, giving him the title of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn. <sup>1</sup> Malik Bahlol and all the amirs did homage to him. Within a short time it became clear that Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn was even less intelligent, and weaker in affairs of state than his father. The madness in the brain of Malik Bahlol became stronger. Couplet :—

When he sees that from the <sup>2</sup> serpent there's no fear,  
The wise from the treasure does not his hand withdraw.

In the year 850 A.H. (1445 A.D.) Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn rode out towards Sāmānah; and while he was on his way, news reached him that the bādshāh of Jaunpūr was marching to attack Dehli. The Sultān returned quickly and came to Dehli. <sup>3</sup> Hisām Khān who was the Vazīr of the empire, and the regent during the absence of the Sultān, represented (to the latter) that the return of the Sultān, merely on hearing a false rumour of the approach of the enemy, was not befitting to the dignity of his state. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn was vexed and pained at these words, which were contrary to his disposition. In the year 851 A.H. (1447 A.D.) he moved towards Badāūn; and after staying there for some time returned to Dehli. He then declared that he was pleased with Badāūn, and wished to stay there permanently. Hisām Khān again, out of the sincerity of his heart, explained to him, that to abandon Dehli, and to make Badāūn the seat of the throne was not advisable for his good. The Sultān was still more vexed at these words, and separating him from himself, left him in Dehli.

<sup>1</sup> This agrees with Badāonī آمد در بیعت دیگر با امرای دیگر در بیعت در آمد و ملک بھلول لودی با امرای دیگر در بیعت در آمد i.e. and Malik Bahlol Lodī with the other amirs came to do him homage. Ferishtāh however makes a contrary statement. He says جمله امرا غیر از ملک بھلول لودی به تختگاه آمده بیعت کردند i.e. all the amirs, except Malik Bahlol Lodī, came to the foot of the throne and did homage.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion is to the fable that hidden treasures are guarded by serpents.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī does not mention this representation or remonstrance of Hisām Khān. Ferishtah does, Hisām Khān is later mentioned by Badāonī, as عمدة الملك و هو اخوة سلطان and has his right name in the Persian text, but in the English translation he is changed to Husain Khān.

He made the two brothers of his wife one the Shahnah (Superintendent) of the city, and the other the Superintendent of the roads. Couplet :—

He had no skill in affairs of state.

Shame and disgrace he got from the hands of fate.

Again in the year 852 A.H. (1448 A.D.) he went to Badāūn, and there giving himself up to sensual pleasures, was contented with the small tract of country that was under his rule. After a time there was enmity between the two brothers of his wife, who were in Dehli; and they fought with each other, and one of them was killed. On the following day the people of the city, under the instigation of Hisām Khān, killed the second brother in revenge for the death of the first. At this time the Sultān on the <sup>1</sup> instigation of treacherous men attempted to put Hamīd Khān, who was the Vazīr, to death; and he fled and coming to Dehli joined Hisām Khān; and took possession of the city and summoned Malik Bahlol to take up the empire; and the details of this brief account will be mentioned in the history of Malik Bahlol. In short <sup>2</sup> Malik Bahlol Lodī came with a large force to Dehli and took possession of it. After a few days he left a body of his well-wishers at Dehli, and himself marching towards Dibālpūr commenced to collect an army. He also sent a representation to Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn to say that he was only striving for the good of the Sultān; and he knew himself to be the slave of the latter. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn wrote in reply "As my father called you by the name of son, and I have no anxiety for provision for my few wants, I am contented with the one parganah of Badāūn, and am giving up the empire to you." Couplet :—

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<sup>1</sup> Col. Ranking says that Ferishtah gives a full account of the attempt on Hamīd Khān's life and says that Qutb Khān and Rūy Pertab, the latter of whom had a blood feud against Hamīd Khān, instigated the Sultān. The author of the *Tabaqāt Akbari* (from whom no doubt Ferishtah copied it) gives the same account, only he does so in his account of the reign of Sultān Bahlol Lodī.

<sup>2</sup> According to Badāonī, Bahlol Lodī after he had been made Sultān at Dehli went in the absence of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn to Sirhind and there assumed the title of Sultān and had the *Khutbah* read in his name; he then came with a large force to Dehli and took possession of it, and then again left the capital in charge of his Nāib and went to Dibālpūr to raise an army.



Without the headache of the lance and the drawing of the sword, The object, which was the hankering for dominion, was attained.

Malik Bahlol with victory and daily increasing prosperity, and finding that the garment of sovereignty fitted his stature, achieved his purpose. He came from Dibālpūr to Dehli and seating himself on the throne of empire, assumed the title of Sultān Bahlol. Among the amirs of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, those who had joined him, had their stipends confirmed and made permanent. After some time Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, made the <sup>1</sup>last journey; and the world became the possession of Sultān Bahlol. The period of his (Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn's) reign was seven years and some months.

## <sup>2</sup>SULTĀN BAHLOL LODĪ.

It is current from tradition, that Malik Bahlol is the nephew of Sultān Shah Lodī who had the title of Islām Khān, and was one of the great amirs of Khizr Khān and Sultān Mubārak Shāh and ruled in Sirhind. As he saw signs of ability and nobility in his nephew, Islām Khān brought him up as his son, and about the end of his life having appointed him to be his successor, passed away. Islām Khān had a son of the name of Qutb Khān. He turned his head aside from submission to Malik Bahlol, and went to Sultān Muhammad. The latter sent <sup>3</sup>Haji Shudnī who had the title of

<sup>1</sup> The year of his death is not mentioned in the *Tabaqāt*. Badāonī says it took place in 855 A.H. According to *Ferishtah* however, although his reign as emperor terminated in 855 A.H., he lived for quite a long time afterwards apparently in peaceful and contended obscurity in Badāun and did not die till 883 A.H. (1418 A.D.) having ruled in Badāun for 28 years.

<sup>2</sup> The heading is given as above in all the MSS. (except one which omits Lodī), in the lith. edn. and in *Ferishtah*. Badāonī has Sultān Bahlol son of Kālā Lodī but one MS. of Badāonī omits بن کالا.

<sup>3</sup> This name is very doubtful. Two of the MSS. and the lith. edn. have حاجي شدرني as I have given it in the text. The other MSS. have حاجي شرنی Hāji Sharnī or حاجي شرنی Hāji Sharfī or حاجي شرقي Hāji Sharqī. Badāonī does not mention these transactions at all. *Ferishtah* says, Muhammad Shāh first sent Malik Sikandar Tuhfa with a strong army in support of Qutb Khān. Bahlol Lodī divided his followers in three parts; an engagement took place, and the Afghāns were defeated. Bahlol had not however been present at the battle. He now became a freebooter and collected many Afghāns and some Mughals

Hisām Khān with a large army against Malik Bahlol. The two parties fought at the village of <sup>1</sup>Kadha, one of the villages in Pargana Khizrābād and <sup>2</sup>Sadhoraḥ, and Hisām Khān was defeated and went back to Dehli. Malik Bahlol then acquired much strength and power.

They say that one day in the beginning of his career, Malik Bahlol went with two friends to Sāmānah. There was a *darvesh* there of the name of Saiyad <sup>3</sup>Ibn. Malik Bahlol with his two friends went to pay their respects to the holy man; and sat down respectfully. The 'absorbed one said; is there any of you who would buy the bādshāhī of Dehli for two thousand *tangahs*? Malik Bahlol had one thousand and six hundred tangahs in his bag. He brought it out, and placing it in front of the darvesh said "I have not more than this." The *Faqir* accepted it and said "may the bādshāhī be auspicious for thee." "His companions jested with and mocked him. He said in reply. "This cannot but be one of two things. If this story comes true, I shall have made a very cheap bargain, and if it does not, to do a service to a darvesh is surely not devoid of profit." Couplet:—

The wayfarers on the spiritual path when they see true piety,  
Bestow the empire of Kāūs and the dominion of Faridun on a *jaqīr*.

And what is mentioned in some histories that Malik Bahlol had been engaged in trade, has no foundation whatever. Probably his paternal ancestors were traders and used to come to Hindustān.

In short, Malik Bahlol with his uncle Malik Firoz, and all his re-

and again took possession of Sirhind. It was then that Hisām Khān was sent against him. Ferishtah does not give any other name of Hisām Khān (see however note 4 p. 326).

<sup>1</sup> The name is given as كده in most of the MSS. and in Ferishtah. In the lith. edn. and in one of the MSS. it is written as كرمه.

<sup>2</sup> It is Sādhoraḥ سادهوره in most of the MSS. and in the lith. edn. Ferishtah has Shūhpūrah.

<sup>3</sup> The MSS. give the name as given in the text سيد ابن. The lith. edn. has only بن without the prefix سيد. Ferishtah calls the darvesh Saidā سيدا. He says that Bahlol went to Sāmānah (or Samānah as he calls it) on a visit to his uncle Islām Khān, and then went to the darvesh.

<sup>4</sup> The word used both in the Tabaqāt and in Ferishtah is مچذوب i.e. one who is absorbed (in the love or contemplation of God).

lations was in possession of the district of Sirhind and acquired great power and strength. From the words of the Darvesh which he had in his mind from youth, and from the incitement of Jasrat Khokhar as has been narrated already, the bird of empire having laid an egg in his brain, he began to extend his territories. After his victory over Hisām Khān, Malik Bahlol sent a representation to the Sultān, containing an account of the unpleasantnesses of Hājī Shudnī, and his own sincerity and loyalty; and also mentioned in it, that if the Sultān should put Hājī Shudnī to death, and confer the post of Vazir on Hamid Khān, his slave (i.e. he himself) would be a loyal servant. Sultān Muhammad without any consideration and hesitation put Hisām Khān to death and made Hamid Khān His Vazir.

Doubtless from fate he would enmity see,  
Who his friend, without reason, would slay.

The Lodis now came forward with sincerity and did homage to the Sultān; and their *Jāgīrs* were confirmed to them afresh. After Malik Bahlol had fought against Sultān Mahmūd Mālwi on the side of Sultān Muhammad, he was honoured with the title of Khān-i-Khānān. Gradually the Lodis, feeling stronger, took forcible possession of Lahore and Dībālpur, and Sunām and Hisār Firozāh and other parganas; and acquired very great power and influence. They had also become hostile, on account of their having taken possession of Lahore and Dībālpūr without the permission of Sultān Muhammad, so they now raised the standard of enmity, and advanced on Dehli against Sultan Muhammad. They besieged Dehli for a long time, but being unable to take it returned to Sirhind. Malik Bahlol then assumed the title of Sultān, but <sup>1</sup> postponed the insertion of his name in the public prayer and the minting of coin in his own name, till the conquest of Dehli. At this time Sultān Muhammad died, and Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn was placed on the throne by the endeavours of the Amīrs and the great men of the kingdom. Couplet:

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<sup>1</sup> This agrees with what Ferishta says, who has almost the same words as the author of the *Tabaqāt*. Badāonī is slightly different. He says سلطان بصر عند رفته خطاب سلطانی بخود قرار داده خطبه بخواند: this was however after he had taken possession of Dehli and been raised on the throne by Hisām Khān and Hamid Khān.

How excellent are <sup>1</sup> empire and wealth, with their heads  
hanging down.

The father's gone and the son's foot is in the stirrup.

At this time the whole of Hindustān being in the possession of different tribes, the Lodis had acquired very great power. <sup>2</sup> Āhmad Khān Miwāṭi was in possession (of the territory) from Mehrouti as far as Lādū Sarāi, which is close to the city of Dehli. The Lodis held the territory of Sirhind and Lahore as far as Pāntpat. Daryā Khān Lodi was the ruler of the territory of Sambal to the ford of Khwājah-i-Khizr which is adjacent to the city of Dehli. 'Isā Khān Turkbacha held Kol. Qutb Khān son of <sup>3</sup> Hasan Khān was the ruler of <sup>4</sup> Rābri. Rāy Partāb was in possession of the towns of Bhongāon, Batiali and Kampilā. Biānah was in the possession of Daūd Khān Auhadi. And Gujrāt, and Mālwah and the Deccan and Jāunpūr and Bangālāh each had an independent bādshāh. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn had the city of Dehli and a few villages; and he was bādshāh with this territory!

Sultān Bahlol after collecting an army came a second time from Sirhind to Dehli. He could not capture the citadal of Dehli, so he went back to Sirhind. At this time Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn had a consultation with Qutb Khān, and 'Isā Khān, and Rāy Partāb, as to how he might strengthen his own position. They told him in reply, "if the Sultān would imprison Hamīd Khān and dismiss him from the post of Vazīr, we would seize a few pārganahs from the Amīrs, and add them to the Sultān's dominion." The Sultān ordered the arrest of Hamīd Khān. Couplet:—

As if to the rose one said that amongst the birds of thy garden,  
'Thou hadst none but the bulbul, why dost thou keep its wings tied  
up?

<sup>1</sup> Some of the MSS. have زهی ملک و دولت که سر در نشیب. I have adopted this. Other MSS. and the lith. edn. have رمی ملک دوران سر در نشیب. سر در نشیب (lit.) head hanging down; i.e. all topsy-turvey.

<sup>2</sup> These divisions and the names of the rulers are given in Ferishtah in his account of the reign of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn. Col Briggs says "This description of the territorial divisions is extremely useful. Besides these Kandeish, Sind and Mooltan had each its separate Mahomedan King." He however makes no attempt to identify the places. The divisions are not mentioned by Badāonī.

<sup>3</sup> He is Hasan Khān in some MSS. and Husen Khān in others.

<sup>4</sup> Rābri is variously given as رابری Rābrī, راپری Rāprī, ربری Rabrī and رپری Raprī.

The Sultān then started from Dehli and came to <sup>1</sup>Burhānābād near Mārharāh. Qutb Khān and 'Isa Khān and Rāy Partāb there rendered homage to him, and said that they would include forty pārganas in the Sultān's dominion on condition that he would put Hamīd Khān to death. As before this Fateh Khān, father of Hamīd Khān, had laid waste Rāy Partab's territories and had taken possession of his wife, the latter incited the Sultān to put Hamīd Khān to death on account of this old enmity. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn who had no acquaintance with the administration of an empire, gave the order for the death of Hamīd Khān without any deliberation or delay. The brother of Hamīd Khān and his friends however, obtained his release from imprisonment by such stratagems as they could think of. He fled and came to Dehli. Malik Muhammad Jamāl who was his jailor or guard pursued him, and arriving at his house attacked it. He was however wounded by an arrow and slain, and a large body of men gathered round Hamīd Khān. There was a great disturbance and uproar and turmoil. Hamīd Khān entered the harem of the Sultān, and driving out his wives, daughters and sons with <sup>2</sup>bare uncovered heads from the citadel of the city, took possession of the treasures and paraphernalia of sovereignty. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn on account of the wretchedness of his fortune, delayed the taking of all revenge from day to day, and remained in Badāun, on account of the rains.

Hamīd Khān taking advantage of this, began to think of placing another on the throne instead of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn. As Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, the bādshāh of Jaunpūr, was a <sup>3</sup>relation of Sultān

<sup>1</sup> One of the dependencies of Itāwah. Mārharah is given variously as بارمره, Bārhrāh, پارمره, Parharah and مار مره Mārharah. It appears to have been a township in the Doāb.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishtah says حمید خان بحرمد بادشاه در امدہ زنان و دختران و پسران بادشاه را بیرون کشید و همه را سر و پای برهنہ در غایت اہانت و بیعزت از حصار شہر بیرون کردہ خرابین و اسباب بادشاہی را متصرف شد i.e. Hamīd Khān entered the haram of the bādshāh and dragged out the wives and daughters and sons of the bādshāh and drove them out of the citadel of the city with their heads and feet uncovered with the greatest insult and disgrace; and took possession of the treasure and the paraphernalia of the bādshāh.

<sup>3</sup> Sultan Hasan Sharqī one of the sons of Sultan Mahmūd Sharqī was married to Malkah-i-Jahūn, a daughter of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn.

'Ala-ud-dīn he did not consider it proper to summon him. Sultān Mahmūd the bādshāh of Māndu was at a distance. The Lodīs were near. He summoned Malik Bahlol who was at Sirhind, and the latter came to Dehli with a large force after making terms and conditions. Hamīd Khān gave the keys of the citadel to Malik Bahlol. The latter sat on the throne of sovereignty on the <sup>1</sup>17th of the month of Rabi'-ul-āwwal, 855 A.H. (1451 A.D). <sup>2</sup> Quatrain :

On this turquoise throne every morn and eve,  
One die of fortune is shaken to the goal of success ;  
None has this fortune and this die borne away,  
Nor with full joy, the fruits of sovereignty did taste.

At that time Sultān Bahlol had <sup>3</sup>nine sons, viz. Khwājah Bāyezīd, his eldest son, Nizam Khān who took the title of Sultān Sikandar, Bārbak Shāh, Mubārak Khān, 'Ālām Khān celebrated as Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, Jamāl Khān, Miān Y'aqub, Fateh Khān, Miān Musa and Jalāl Khān ; and he had <sup>4</sup>thirty-four Amirs and relations ; viz. Qutb Khān son of Islām Khān Lodī, Daryā Khān Lodī, Tātār Khān son of Daryā Khān Lodī, Mubārak Khān Lohānī, Tātār Khān Yusuf Khail, Umār Khān Sharwānī, Qutb Khān, son of Hasan Khān Āfghān, Ahmad Khān Miwāṭī, Yusuf Khān Jilwānī, Ali Khān son of Yusuf Khān Jilwānī, Ali Khān Turkbachah, Sheikh Abu Sa'īd Farmulī, Ahmad Khān Shāmī, Khan-i-Khānān Lohānī, Shams Khān, Vazīr Khān, Khan-i-Khānān son of Ahmad Khān, Sheikh Ahmad Khan Sharwānī, Nihang Khān, Lashkar Khan, Shahāb Khān, Dabir

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī gives the year of the accession 855 A.H. but not the date. Ferishtah says he was already in possession of Dehli for some time, but he removed the name of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn from the Khutbah and openly and formally declared himself to be the Sultān, on the 17th Rabi'-ul-āwwal 855 A.H.

<sup>2</sup> One MS. calls these lines a مثنوی but others and the lith. edn. call them verses.

<sup>3</sup> Although our author and Ferishtah both say that Bahlol had nine sons, they both give ten names. Col. Briggs gives only nine names, by omitting Mubārak Khān.

<sup>4</sup> Ferishtah also says 34 but Col. Briggs says 36. The names given above generally agree with those in Ferishtah. The latter however prefixes the title of Khān-Jahān Lodī to the name of Daryā Khān Lodī, substitutes Yusuf Khān Khān Khail for Tātār Khān Yusuf Khail, omits 'Ali Khān son of Yusuf Khān Jalwānī, etc., etc.



their mouths were burnt, they threw down the packets from their hands. Hamid Khān asked Malik Bahlol, why they were behaving in this way. He replied that they were foolish rustics, and had been very little among men. They have no skill except in eating and in dying.

Another day, Malik Bahlol was Hamid Khān's guest. It was the custom that when Malik Bahlol went into the house, a few went in with him, and most of his men stood outside. On this occasion, when Malik Bahlol became a guest, the Afghāns, at his instigation kicked the gate-keeper, and forcibly entered the house, and said. We are also servants of Hamid Khān, why should we not be allowed to salute him. As there was a noise and uproar, Hamid Khān inquired of the reason. He was told that the Afghans were abusing Malik Bahlol and were saying 'we are also servants of Hamid Khān, just like Malik Bahlol; he has come inside: why should we also not do so and make our salutations to him? Hamid Khān said 'leave them alone.' Couplet.

No more for life do you dare hope;  
If in your garment you keep a snake.

The Afghāns rushed in, in a crowd and two of them went and stood by the side of each of the attendants of Hamid Khān who were round him. At this time Qutb Khān Lodi brought out a chain from his bosom, and placing it before Hamid Khān said, "it is advisable that you should remain in seclusion for a few days; on account of the right of salt I do not make an attempt on your life." They seized Hamid Khān and made him over to guards. Malik Bahlol then took possession of Dehli without any prohibition or enmity from anybody: had his name inserted in the Khutbah (public prayer) and Sikkah (coin): and assumed the title of Sultān Bahlol. He then wrote to Sultān 'Ala-ud-din, "I was brought up by your father, and in reality, I am giving currency and dignity to the affairs of the government, which had got out of control, as your agent; and I do not strike off your name from the public prayer." The Sultān wrote in reply 'my father called you son, I consider you as my elder brother. I am leaving the empire to you and will be contented with Badāshāh. Sultān Bahlol having now fully attained his object, commenced to attend to the affairs of the government;



and the same year, he marched to Multān and that neighbourhood in order to regulate the affairs of those districts.

The amirs of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, who were dissatisfied with the Lodīs, having obtained the empire, summoned Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī from Jaunpūr and in the year 856 A.H. (1452 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd arrived in Dehli with an immense force, and besieged it. Khawjah Bāezīd son of Sultān Bahlol shut himself up with other nobles. Sultān Bahlol on hearing the news returned from Dibālpūr and encamped at the village of <sup>1</sup>Nalira, which is fifteen *karohs* from Dehli, and his troops seized and brought away some <sup>2</sup>camels and bullocks which had been sent to the pastures from the army of Sultān Mahmūd. The latter deputed Fateh Khān <sup>3</sup>Harawī with thirty thousand horsemen and thirty elephants to attack Sultān Bahlol. The Lodīs divided themselves into three armies and commenced the battle. Qutb Khān Lodi who was a specially distinguished archer wounded the elephant which led the vanguard of Fateh Khān's army and made it useless, so that it had to be withdrawn from the battle. Qutb Khan Lodi said in a loud voice to Daryā Khān Lodī who had joined Sultān Mahmūd and was arraying the troops. "Your mothers and sisters are shut up in the fort. Is it fitting that thou shouldst fight on the side of a stranger, and shouldst not protect the honour (of your own people)". Daryā Khān said "I am going, do not you pursue me." Qutb Khān took an oath. Daryā Khān turned his face; and at once on his doing so, Fateh Khān was defeated and taken prisoner. As Fateh Khān had killed <sup>4</sup>Pithorā brother of Rāy Karan, the latter

<sup>1</sup> That is the name according to the MSS. (except one which omits the name altogether) and in the lith. edn. Badāonī does not mention the place at all. Ferishtah calls it Bīr.

<sup>2</sup> The readings are difficult. Some of the MSS. and the lith. edn. have *دو بار شتر و گاوی*. Other MSS. have *پارۀ شتر* Ferishta has *گاو و اشتران* *بارکش لشکر محمود شاه شرقی* which gives the best meaning 'some camels and bullocks which carried loads, belonging to the army of Mahmūd Shāh Sharqī.'

<sup>3</sup> This word is given as *هربوی*, Harbūī, *هرتوی* and *هروی* Harawī. This last which means 'of Herāt' is the correct reading.

<sup>4</sup> The different readings are *بهتواری*, Bahtuārī, *سه سوار*, Seh Sawār, *پینهورا* Pīthorā and *بھنیو* Bhaneu in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. Ferishtah has *بهتواری*. Badāonī does not mention the details of the battle at all. I have

severed Fateh Khān's head and brought it to Sultān Bahlol. Sultān Mahmūd was unable to bear this calamity and retired towards Jaunpūr

After this, Sultān Bahlol having acquired stability, became strong and powerful, and <sup>1</sup> marched out for putting his dominions in order. He went first to Miwāt. Āhmad Khān Miwāti went forward to receive him, and declared his allegiance. The Sultān took seven parganas out of his possession and left the remainder with him. Ahmad Khān Miwāti placed Mubārak Khān his uncle permanently in the service of the Sultān. The latter then went from Miwāt to Baran. Daryā Khān Lodī, the ruler of Sambal, also came and tendered his submission and allegiance, and gave up seven parganas as a tribute. The Sultān came from there to Kol, and confirmed it to 'Isā Khān as before. When he arrived at Burhānābād, the ruler of Saket came to render service and his jāgīr was also not taken from him. In the same way the territories of Rāy Partāb ruler of Bhongāon were left with him. The Sultān then went to the fort of Rāpri Qutb Khān, son of Hasan Khān, the ruler of the fort shut himself up in it, but in a short time, it was captured. Khān-i-Jahān gave his word to Qutb Khan and brought him to the Sultan, and his Jāgirs was confirmed to him. From that place he went to Itāwah, and the ruler of that place also declared his allegiance.

At this time <sup>2</sup> Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī again came to attack Sultān Bahlol and encamped in the territory of Itāwah. On the first day the two armies fought with each other. The next day Qutb Khān and Rāy Partāb proposed terms of peace and it was settled that whatever had been in the possession of Mubārak Shāh, bādshāh of Dehlī should belong to Sultān Bahlol, and whatever had been in the possession of Sultān Ibrahim Bādshāh of Jaunpūr should appertain to Sultān Mahmūd; and Sultān Bahlol should send back the seven elephants belonging to Sultān Mahmūd which had fallen into his hands at the time of the defeat of Fateh Khān Harawī.

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taken Pithorū which was the name given by Musalmān historians to Prithvī Rāj of Dehlī.

<sup>1</sup> Ferishtah agrees generally in the account of Sultān Bahlol's progress. Badāonī does not mention it at all.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishtah copies this almost word for word. Badāonī is very brief.

It was also settled that Sultān Bahlol should at the end of the rains take Shamsābād from Junā Khān, who was the governor there on behalf of Sultān Mahmūd.

After this Sultān Mahmūd went to Jaunpūr; and Sultān Bahlol sent a *farmān* to Jūnā Khān that at the appointed time, he should march out of Shamsābād. The latter did not comply and Sultān Bahlol went against him; he fled. Sultān Bahlol gave Shāmsābād to Rāy Karan. Sultān Mahmūd, on hearing this news, came to Shamsābād to attack Sultān Bahlol. Qutb Khān and Dariyā Khān Lodī then made a night attack on the army of Sultān Mahmūd. Accidentally Qutb Khān's horse <sup>1</sup>stumbled and Qutb Khān fell off and was taken prisoner. Sultān Mahmūd sent him to Jaunpūr; and he remained in prison for seven years. Sultān Bahlol left Shāhzādah Jalāl and Shāhzādah Sikandar and 'Imād-ul-Mulk to fight with the army of Sultān Mahmūd and to help Rāy Karan, who was in the fort; and himself engaged in warfare with Sultān Mahmūd. But at this time the latter became ill, and gave up his life. Verse:—

In this glass, there is sugar and poison too,  
It eats up life now, and now nourishes it.  
On the head of one, it places a crown of gold,  
Another enviously with sword it smites.  
Its malice is not in right place, nor is its love;  
No softness in this, nor loyalty in that.

Bibi Rāji his mother, with the consent of the amirs placed Shāhzādah Bhikhan Khān on the throne of empire and gave him the title of Muhammad Shāh. Peace was concluded between the two bādshāhs; and they bound themselves by an agreement that the territories of Sultān Mahmūd should be in the possession of Sultān Muhammad; and Sultān Bahlol should continue to hold whatever was in his possession. Muhammad Shāh went to Jaunpūr and Sultān Bahlol returned to Dehli. When he came to the neighbourhood of Dehli, Shams Khātūn, the sister of Qutb Khān, sent him a message to the effect that as long as Qutb Khān should remain in

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<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. have بدري خورد Ferishtah has سکندری خورد.

Muhammad Shāh's prison, rest and repose and sleep should be unlawful for the Sultān. The latter was grieved at this, and returning from <sup>1</sup> Dhankur, marched towards Jaunpūr to attack Sultān Muhammad. The latter also started from Jaunpūr. When he reached Shamsābād, he took it from Rāy Karan, who was its governor under Sultān Bahlol; and made it over to Junā Khān. Rāy Partāb who had formerly been united with Sultān Bahlol, seeing Muhammad Shāh's power joined him. Muhammad Shāh came to Sarsuti; and Sultān Bahlol encamped at Rābri near Sarsuti, and for sometime they fought with each other. Muhammad Shāh wrote an order to the Kotwāl of Jaunpūr from Sarsuti directing him to put to death, his (i.e. the Sultān's) brother Hasan Khān, and Qutb Khān, the son of Islām Khān Lodi. The Kotwāl sent a representation to the effect, that Bibi Rāji protected them both in such a way, that he was unable to put them to death. When Muhammad Shāh got this writing, he summoned his mother from Jaunpūr, so that she might conclude a peace between him and Hasan Khān, and give a part of the kingdom to the latter. Bibi Rāji then started from Jaunpūr. The Kotwāl put Shāhzādah Hasan Khān to death, in accordance with the *farmān* of Muhammad Shāh. Bibi Rāji performed the mourning ceremony for Hasan Khān in Kanauj, and waited there, and did not go to Muhammad Shāh. The latter wrote to his mother that as all the Shāhzādahs would have the same fate, his revered mother should do the mourning for all of them at once.

Muhammad Shāh badshāh was wrathful and blood thirsty. The amirs were in dread and terror of him. One day Shāhzādah Husen Khan, his brother, in company with Sultān Shah and Jalāl Khan Ajodhant informed him, that Sultān Bahlol's army intended

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<sup>1</sup> The name of this place is given as دیکور Dikūd, داتھکڑ, Dathkūr, دینکڑ, Dīnkur and دھنکڑ, Dhankur, in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. Badāonī only says that as his cousin Qutb Khan had fallen a prisoner into the hands of Muhammad Shāh, Sultān Bahlol in contravention of the existing treaty went to attack Muhammad Shāh. He does not mention Shams Khātūn's appeal to Sultān Bahlol. Ferishtah does, but he says that on receiving her message, the Sultān did not go to Delhi but went towards Jaunpūr. He does not mention the place whence he changed the direction of his journey.

to make a night attack on them, and taking with them thirty thousand horsemen and thirty elephants separated themselves from Muhammad Shāh's army with the avowed intention of marching against the enemy; and remained on the bank of a <sup>1</sup> waterfall. Sultān Bahlol hearing this news sent an army against them. Shāh-zādah Husen Khān wanted to take Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān with him and sent somebody to summon him. At this time Sultān Shāh said that it was not advisable to wait there. Jalāl Khān would come up to them from behind; and they started in the direction of Kanouj. It happened, that the army of Sultān Bahlol that had been deputed against them, came up, and occupied the place which they had previously occupied. Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān left the army of Muhammad Shāh in compliance with the summons of Husen Khān, and started towards the waterfall; and on arriving there thought the army of Sultān Bahlol to be that of Shāhzādah Husen Khān, and went close to it. Sultān Bahlol's troops seized him, and took him to Sultān Bahlol; and he knowing that he would be an exchange for Qutb Khān kept him in confinement. Muhammad Shāh being unable to meet him took the road to Kanouj. Sultān Bahlol pursued him as far as the river Ganges, and taking a part of his equipage and war-material returned.

When Shāhzādah Husen Khān in the year 855 A.H. (1451 A.D.) came to his mother Rājī Bibī, he was placed on the throne by her exertions and those of the chief men of the Sharqī Kingdom; as has been narrated in the Sharqī section, by the gem-stringing pen. <sup>2</sup> Malik Mubārak Gang, and Malik 'Alī Gujrātī, and other amirs were sent against Muhammad Shāh, who had encamped on the bank of the Ganges, near the fort of Rājgar. When the army of Sultān Husen Khān arrived, some of the amirs, who were with Muhammad

<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. say *در کنار جهرنه ایستادند*. Ferishtah says *از معسكر بر آمده عطف علی کرده بقتل رفت*, i.e. coming out of the (i.e. Muhammad Shāh's) army, and turning their bridles, went to Kanouj. He does not say that Husen Khān summoned Jalāl Khān, but he says that the latter when he came afterwards, was taken prisoner by some amirs sent by Sultān Bahlol.

<sup>2</sup> These incidents are not mentioned by Badāonī or Ferishtah, at least in the general history.



and taking that place from Junā Khān made it over to Rāy Karan, and at that place <sup>1</sup>Narsingh Rāy, son of Rāy Partāb, came and did homage to Sultān Bahlol. Before this, Ray Partāb had taken by force a lance (which in those days, was considered to be of the status of a standard of a chief), and a kettledrum from Dariyā Khān. The latter in revenge for that put Narsingh, his son, to death with the consent of Qutb Khān. About this time <sup>2</sup>Qutb Khān son of Husen Khān Afghān, and Mubārīz Khān Behtah and Rāy Partāb united with Sultān Husen Sharqī. Sultān Bahlol did not now have the strength to meet him, and he returned to Dehli.

After a few days Sultān Bahlol marched towards Multān in order to put affairs in the Punjab into order, and to suppress the rebellion of the governor of Multān; and left Qutb Khān Lodī and the Khān-i-Jahān in Dehli as his deputies. Sultān Bahlol was yet on his way when they sent him news that Sultān Husen with a well-equipped army and elephants of mountain-like size was advancing towards Dehli. <sup>3</sup>He returned quickly and came to Dehli; and going forward to meet the enemy opposed him at Chandwār, and for seven days the armies of the two sides fought against each other. At this time Ahmad Khān Miwāti and Rustam Khān, governor of Kol, joined Sultān Husen and Tātār Khān Lodī joined Sultān Bahlol.

After this when the warfare and slaughter went on for a length of time, it was settled by the exertions of the chief men (of the two kingdoms) that for three years, the two bādshāhs should be contented with their own kingdoms, and should not engage in any further wars with each other.

After this settlement <sup>4</sup>Sultān Husen besieged Itāwah. Sultān

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Bahlol came to Dehli and stayed there for three years occupying himself with the affairs of his kingdom and his army. Within this period, Sultān Bahlol marched against Āhmad Khān Miwātī, who before this had joined Sultān Husen. When he arrived in Miwāt, Khān-i-Jahān who was one of the great amirs of Sultān Husen gave hopes of favour to Āhmad Khān, and took him to Sultān Husen. About this time, Āhmad Khān, son of Yusuf Khān Jilwānī the governor of Biānah had the public prayer read in Biānah in the name of Sultān Husen.

As the period of three years had now elapsed Sultān Husen advanced towards Dehli with a <sup>1</sup> hundred thousand horsemen and one thousand elephants. Sultān Bahlol came out of Dehli and met him near the town of <sup>2</sup> Bhatwārah. Khān-i-Jahān intervened and effected a settlement. After that Sultān Husen went to Itāwah and remained there; and Sultān Bahlol went to Dehli. <sup>3</sup> After a short time Sultān Husen again attacked Sultān Bahlol. The latter came out of Dehli and near Rāysingh the two armies met and fighting went on for a few days, and at last there was peace. Sultān Husen went towards Itāwah and Sultān Bahlol returned to Dehli.

At this time Bibī Rāji the mother of Sultān Husen died at Itāwah. <sup>4</sup> Kalyān Mal, son of Ray Karn Singh Rājā of Gwālīār, and Qutb Khān Lodī, who had gone from Chandwār to Gwālīār, went to Husen Shāh.

three years; and he took Itāwah from its ruler, who was a relation of Sultān Bahlol. He also drew Āhmad Khān Miwātī and Rustam Khān, governor of Kol, and Āhmad Khān Jilwānī to his side.

<sup>1</sup> These numbers agree with those given by Badāonī (Persian text) and Ferishtah. Col. Ranking however reduces the number of the horsemen to ten thousand.

<sup>2</sup> The name is given as مَتَوْرَة Matura, نَهْوَارَة Nahwārah and بَهْتَوَارَة Bhatwārah in the different MSS. The lith. edn. has تَهْنَوَارَة Thhanwārah. Badāonī (Persian text) has بَهْتَوَارَة and Col. Briggs and Col. Ranking both have Bhatwarah. Ferishtah (Persian text) has تَهْوَارَة Thhawārah.

<sup>3</sup> This is not mentioned by Badāonī. The name of the place where the fighting took place is given in the different MSS. as رَايْسِنْگِه Rāysingh, زَمْکِهَر Zamkhar, and رَنْگِهَر Ranghar. The lith. edn. has رَا لَشْکَر Ralshkar. Ferishtah has سَنْکِهَر, and Col. Briggs Sunkur.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī does not mention this. Ferishtah says that the Rājā of Gwālīār and not his son, and Qutb Khān Lodī went to Sultān Husen Sharqī to join in the mourning for the death of his mother.



As Qutb Khān found that Sultān Husen had great enmity towards Sultān Bahlol, he began to flatter him and said "Sultān Bahlol is like one of your servants. He cannot be your equal and I shall not rest till I bring Dehli into your possession." He then by various artifices took his leave of Sultān Husen, and came to Sultān Bahlol, and told him "I have freed myself from the clutches of the Sultān by deception and plotting. I found him to be very strong in his hostility to you. You should look after yourself."

At this time Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn passed away in Badāūn. <sup>1</sup> Sultān Husen went there from Itāwah to join in the mourning for him, and after the mourning ceremonies, took Badāun from the son of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn into his own possession. He allowed himself to act in this ungenerous way. From that place he went to Sambal, and imprisoning <sup>2</sup> Mubārak Khān son of Tātār Khān the governor of that place sent him to <sup>3</sup> Saran. He came then with a powerful army and one thousand elephants and in the month of Zi-hijjeh <sup>4</sup> 883 A.H. (1479 A.D.) he encamped on the bank of the Jumna, near the ford of <sup>5</sup> Kunjah. Sultān Bahlol sent Husen Khān son of Khān-i-Jahān towards Mirat; and himself came to Dehli from Sirhind. They fought with each other for a time. The Sharqī was very powerful on account of their greater number and strength. At last Qutb Khān sent a man to Sultān Husen, with a message to the effect that he was a slave of Bibi Rājī who had received many favours from her. When he was a prisoner at Jaunpūr various acts of bene-

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī says that Sultān Husen was the son-in-law of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn. He says سلطان علاؤ الدین که دختر او ملکه جهان در حبائل سلطان حسین بود در بداون در گذشت, i.e. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn whose daughter Malkah-i-Jahān was married to Sultān Husen passed away in Badāun.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says it was Tātār Khān who was the governor and who was imprisoned. Ferishtah gives the name of Mubārak Khān, but does not give his father Tātār Khan's name.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī calls the place Sāran. There is a variant شاران in the Persian text of Badāonī.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī says this happened in 880 A.H., but the correct year is given in the Tabaqāt and in Ferishtah.

<sup>5</sup> All the MSS have کنجه Kunja. The lith. edn. has کهنه which means old. Badāonī has کچه Kichah but another MS. has گنجینه Ganjīnah. Ferishtah has کچه Kachha.



encies of Rāprī and gave battle; but at last an amicable settlement was made, on the condition that the two Sultāns should remain contented with their own territories and the ancient boundaries. After the conclusion of peace Sultān Husen went to Rāprī and Sultān Bahlol came to <sup>1</sup> Dhobāmau.

After some time Sultān Husen again collected a large force and came to attack Sultān Bahlol, and there was a fierce battle in the vicinity of <sup>2</sup> Sonhār, and Sultān Husen was again defeated. Quatrain:

If fortune's dull what profits a mighty bow  
With fortune, the arrow strikes home, in the battle line.  
Many brave-hearted warriors, when fortune was low,  
Were worsted in war by a pusillanimous foe.

An inestimable quantity of wealth fell into the hands of the Lodīs, and became the cause of a great increase in the strength and splendour of Sultān Bahlol. Sultān Husen again went to Rāprī; and Sultān Bahlol encamped near Dhobāmau. At this time the news of the death of Khān-i-Jahān who was at Dehlī reached Sultān Bahlol. The Sultān conferred the title of Khān-i-Jahān on his son, and confirmed him in his father's position. From that place he went to Rāprī and attacked Sultān Husen; and after battle and slaughter he was distinguished by victory and triumph. In the course of the flight and the crossing of the river Jumna, some sons and other members of the family of Sultān Husen were drowned in the sea of destruction.

Sultān Husen then proceeded towards Gwālīār. In the neighbourhood of <sup>3</sup> Hatkant a band of Bhadwarīahs, attacked and plundered

<sup>1</sup> Two of the MSS. have دھوبامو Dhobāmau, and the others have دھویا, Dhoyā and دھونا, Dumonā. The lith. edn. has ہریامو Harpāmau. The Persian text of Badāonī does not say where Sultān Bahlol stayed; but it appears from a note in the English translation that two MSS. say that he stayed at Dhobāmau. Ferishtah says that it was settled that mouzah Dhobāmau should be the boundary, that Sultān Husen went to Rābrī and Sultān Bahlol returned to Dehlī.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. and Badāonī have Sonhūr. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has سہارن Sahāran and Col. Briggs has Sirsar.

<sup>3</sup> Hatkānth is said by Abul Fazl to be the chief town of Bhadāwar, a district to the south-east of Agra. Its inhabitants were called Bhadwarīahs. They were known as daring robbers, and though so near the capital, managed

his camp. When, however, he reached Gwāliār <sup>1</sup>Rāy Kīrat Singh, Rāja of Gwāliār, came and offered his submission and behaved like a servant towards him. He offered as tribute some lakhs of *tangahs*, in cash, and some tents and pavilions, and some horses and elephants and camels; and placing himself in the band of his well-wishers, and sending an army to accompany him, <sup>2</sup>came with him as a dependant as far as Kālpt. While these things were happening, Sultān Bahlol went and <sup>3</sup>attacked Itāwah. Ibrāhīm Khān, brother of Sultān Husen and Haibat Khan *alias* Malik Karkar shut themselves up and fought for three days, but at last asked for quarter, and surrendered Itāwah. Sultān Bahlol placed it in charge of Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Mubārak Khan <sup>4</sup>Lohani. He conferred several parganahs belonging to the territory of Itāwah on Rāy <sup>5</sup>Dāud as his remuneration and went with a large force to attack Sultān Husen. When he arrived in the village of Rākanau, one of the dependencies of Kālpt, Sultān Husen advanced from Kālpt to meet him, and they passed several months in skirmishes. At this time Rāy Tilok Chaud, ruler of the territory of <sup>6</sup>Baksar, came to Sultān Bahlol, and took him to a place

to maintain their independence, till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant. *Ain-i-Akbari* (B) 1488; Elliot, *Races of N.W.P.* vol. 1, p. 25 (quoted from note 1, p. 408, of Col. Ranking's translation of the *Muntakhabat-ut-tawarikh*).

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī calls him *روای کبرت سنگ حاکم گوالیار*. Ferishtah does not give his name but calls him the Rāja of Gwāliār. Girat Sing is of course incorrect. Kīrat Singh is a good variant of Sans. किरति सिंह.

<sup>2</sup> Both our author and Badāonī says *متابعیت کرد*. Ferishtah has *متابعیت نمود*. Col. Ranking thinks that *متابعیت* is perhaps better than *متابعیت نمود*. I think *متابعیت* is quite good.

<sup>3</sup> This attack on Itāwah is not mentioned by Badāonī. Ferishtah mentions it, and gives the names of Ibrāhīm Khān and Haibat Khān. He gives the alias of the latter as Karkar without the Malik.

<sup>4</sup> Several MSS. and the lith. edn. have this word as *نوحانی* Nūhānī.

<sup>5</sup> This name is given as *داند*, *داندو*, *Dāndō*, and, *داندوة* Dāndwah. Ferishtah has *داندوة* Dāndwah. Col. Briggs omits the passage.

<sup>6</sup> Baksar is situated on the left bank of the Ganges, 34 miles south-east of Unās town, and has an interest in connection with the massacre at Cawnpur in 1857; see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* p. 450. Ferishtah has *کتهر* Khatehar or Rohil-khand, in place of Baksar.

where there was a ford, where he crossed the river. Sultān Husen being unable to meet him retired into the territory of <sup>1</sup> Bihtah :

Verses : The tiger, that has felt the blow of a lion's paw,  
Would not a second time in front of it stand ;  
The hawk that from a falcon's claws its prey has drawn  
After that on the hunting field thinks it a pigeon poor.

The Rājā of Bihtah came forward to meet him treated him with humane consideration, and offered him a tribute of some lakhs of *tangahs*, and some horses and elephants, and sending some troops with him, attended him to Jaunpūr.

After that Sultān Bahlol again raised the standard of determination, and turned to Jaunpūr. When he arrived near it, Sultān Husen abandoned the place ; and retired to Kanouj 'by the way of Bahraich. Sultān Bahlol also moved towards Kanouj ; and they met on the bank of the Rahab. In the battle, a defeat which had now become almost natural to Sultān Husen fell on him, and his regalia and paraphernalia of empire fell into the hands of the Lodis. His honoured wife <sup>2</sup> Bibi Khunza, who was the daughter of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, the <sup>3</sup> grandson of Khizr Khān was also taken prisoner. Sultān Bahlol protected her with great honour and consideration ; and after some time when he again went to conquer the kingdom of Jaunpūr, Bibi Khunza managed, by some stratagem, to obtain her release, and returned to her husband. On this occasion, Sultān Bahlol seized Jaunpūr and gave it to Mubārak Khān Lohānī ; and leaving some

<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. have *بيته* Bihtah. Badāonī has *بيته* Bhatta as Col. Ranking transliterates it. It may, however, also be Bihta. Ferishtah has *تهته*, Thathah, which Col. Ranking thinks is correct, and has adopted. I think Bihtah more probable. There is a Bithur near Cawnpur where the Nānā Sahib used to live. This may be the place.

<sup>2</sup> She is called *خونزا* in several MSS. and *جوترا* in others. Badāonī has *خونزا* in the text though the MSS. read *خوت* and *خوترا* which come to the same thing. Ferishtah has *خونزا* which Col. Briggs and Col. Ranking have adopted. Is she the same as Malkah-i-Jahān (see note 1, p. 348).

<sup>3</sup> Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn was really the great grandson of Khizr Khān. He was the son of Muhammad Shāh who was the son of Mubārak Shāh (or of Farīd Khān) who was a son of Khizr Khān. Bibi Khunza was therefore the daughter of the great grand-son of Khizr Khān and cannot be called the grand-daughter of the latter, as Col. Ranking has called her.



went to <sup>1</sup> Alhanpur, one of the dependencies of Ranthhambore and he plundered the territory of Alhanpur and laid waste the orchards and cultivated land in it and then came to Dehli.

And after a few days there, he went to Hisār Firozah, and stayed there for some months, and then again came to Dehli. After some time, he started towards Gwālīār. Rājā Mān, the ruler of Gwālīār, submitted to him, and offered eighty *lakhs* of *tanghas* as tribute. He confirmed Rājā Mān in the territory. From that place the Sultān went to Itāwah, and taking away that territory from <sup>2</sup> Sakat Singh, son of Rāy Dando, returned. On the way he became ill and died near Mouzah <sup>3</sup> Tilāwali one of the dependencies of parganah Saket in the year 894 A.H. (4188 A.D). The period of his reign was thirty eight years and eight months and eight days.

Verse: Whether it is Afrāsiāb or the <sup>4</sup> son of Zāl,  
He will meet with punishment, at the hand of fate;  
To the cup which the cup-bearer has measured.  
It is not in human power to add a drop.

<sup>1</sup> Two of the MSS. have *الهنپور*, Alhanpūr quite distinctly, another has *اسينپور*, which may be read as Alhanpūr or Ashanpūr. Another has *النيور* which is apparently a mistake. The lith. edn. has *النيور* Alanpūr which is almost the same as Alhanpūr. One MS. and the Persian text of Badāonī have Alhanpūr. Col. Ranking has however followed Ferishtah and adopted Ilāhīpūr. The lith. edn. of Ferishtah which I have seen has *اله پور* Ilahpur.

<sup>2</sup> He is not mentioned by Badāonī. Ferishtah has Saket Singh but as most of the MSS. and the lith. edn. has *سکت سنگه* Sakat Singh, I have retained it. Besides Sakat Singh or *शक्तचिंह* has a meaning.

<sup>3</sup> Two MSS. have *تلاولی* Tilāwali, one has *بلاولی* or *تلاولی* Tilāwali or Bilāwali and one has *ملاوه* malāwah. The lith. edn. has *بلاولی* Bilāwali. Badāonī does not give the name of the place. Ferishtah as *بهدوالی* Bhadwālī, Col. Ranking has adopted Bhadāulī from the text of Ferishtah which he has seen. He also says in a note "that Sakit is in the Etah district of the N.W. Provinces and it is here according to Hunter (Imp. Gaz. XII. 146) that Bahlūl Lodī died. Abul Fazl says that he died near the township of Sakath, but places Bhadawālī in the Sarkār of Sāhār in the Agra Sūbah, while he places Saketh in the Sarkar of Kanouj (see Āin-i-Akbari, Jarrett. II 309 p. 3). I have preferred to keep Tilāwali.

<sup>4</sup> The same verses are to be found in Badāonī, but there is a most curious mistake in Col. Ranking's translation of the first line which is 'whether it be Afrāsiāb or his son Zāl', according to which Zāl instead of being father of Rustam, the Persian Champion (*پور زال* son of Zāl. is of course Rustam) is converted into the son of Afrāsiāb.

Whether it is the king, or a seller of <sup>1</sup> grass.  
The angel to his ear, the sound of death will bring.

And they have written this quatrain to record the date of his death. Quatrain :

In eight hundred ninety-four departed from the world,  
Bahlol the King, that conquered countries and the world.  
With his sword, he conquered the earth, but the angel of  
death.

'T was impossible to defy with sword and dagger bright.

#### SULTĀN SIKANDAR SON OF SULTĀN BAHLOL LODI.

When Sultān Bahlol entrusted the deposit of life to the holder of souls, <sup>2</sup>Shāhzādah Nizām Khān was in Dehli. Exceeding the wind in quick motion, he went to the town of Jalālī, with the hearse of Sultān Bahlol and sending the corpse of the latter to Dehli placed himself on the throne of sovereignty, on an eminence on the bank of the Ab Siah (i.e. the black river or the Kālī Nadī) which is called the palace of Sultān Firoz near the town of Jalālī, on Friday, the 17th of Sha'bān in the year 894 A.H. (1488 A.D.) with the consent of Khān-i-Jahān, Khān-i-Khānān Farmulī, and all his father's amīrs, and assumed the title of Sultān Sikandar. Verse :

When the moon hid her face behind the veil of blue,  
The sun above the horizon raised his face.  
The Jasmine dropped but the <sup>3</sup>pomegranate bloomed ;  
Each blossom in the garden opens in its turn.

<sup>1</sup> The word actually used is *خس فروش*, the seller of *khas*, which is a kind of fragrant grass, *andropogon muricatum*, of which screens are made, which are, hung before doors and kept wet with water for cooling rooms, in the hot season, by the air which passes through them. These screens are commonly called *khas tattīs*.

<sup>2</sup> There was considerable opposition to the accession of Nizām Khān or Sultān Sikandar owing to his mother having been a goldsmith's daughter, but Khān-i-Khānān Farmulī espoused his cause (see Brigg's *Ferishtah* and Col. Ranking's translation of Badāoni, p. 412, note 2).

<sup>3</sup> The Persian word is *ارغوان*. I cannot find out what it is. The dictionary says it is a tree with a red flower and a red fruit.



Sultān Bahlol had at that time <sup>1</sup> six sons; Ibrāhīm Khān, and Jalāl Khān, and Ismail Khān, and Husen Khān, and Mahmūd Khān, and Sheikh Ā'zam Humayūn; and he had <sup>2</sup> fifty-three notable Amirs; Khān-i-Jahān son of Khān-i-Jahān Lodi, Ahmad Khān son of Khān-i-Jahān Mubark Khan Lohānī, Mahmūd Khān Lodi, 'Isā Khān son of Tātār Khān Lodi, Khān-i-Khānān Shaikhzādah Muhammad Farmuli, Khān-i-Khānān Lohānī, Ā'zam Humāyūn Sharwānī, Dariyā Khān son of Mubārak Khān Lohānī Nāib of Bihār, 'Ālam Khān Lodi, Jalāl Khān son of Mahmūd Khān Lodi Naib of Kālpi, Sher Khān Lodi, Mubārak Khān Lodi Musā Khail, Ahmad Khān son of Mubārak Khān Lodi, 'Imād son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmuli, Umar Khān Sharwānī, Bhikhan Khān son of 'Ālam Khān Lodi, governor of Itāwah, Ibrāhīm Khān Sharwānī, Muhammad Shāh Lodi, Bābar Khān Sharwānī, Hasan Farmuli Nāib of Sāran, Suleimān Farmuli, second son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmuli, Sa'id Khān Lodi, son of Mubārak Khān Lodi, Isma'el Khān Lohānī, Tātār Khān Farmali, 'Usmān Khān Farmuli, Shaikhzādah Muhammad son of 'Imad Farmuli, Sheikh Jamāl 'Usmān, Sheikh Ahmad Farmuli, Ādam Lodi, Husen Khān brother of Ādam Lodi, Kabir Khān Lodi, Nasir Khān Lohānī, Ghāzī Khān Lodi, Tātār Khān governor of Jāthra,<sup>3</sup> Moulanā Juman Kambu, *hijāb khas*, Majd-ud-dīn, *hijāb khas*, Shaikh 'Umar, *hijāb khas*, Shaikh Ibrāhīm, *hijāb khas*, Maqbil, *hijāb khas*, Qāzī Abdul Wāhid, son of Tāhir Kabuli, <sup>4</sup> *hijāb khas* (gentleman-in-waiting), <sup>5</sup> Bhūrah son of Khawās Khān, Khwāja Nasrullah, Mubārak Khān, Iqbāl Khān governor of the town of Bārī, Khwāja Asghar son of Qawām, governor of Dehli, Sher Khān brother of Mubārak Khān Lohānī, 'Imād-ul-Mulk Kambu, appertaining to Dariyā Khān Lohānī who had been Mir 'Adal or chief Judge.

<sup>1</sup> That is omitting Nizām Khān. According to Ferishtah, Sultān Bahlol had nine sons at an earlier period but the list given by him contains 10 names.

<sup>2</sup> There is considerable differences in the names. I have tried to make a correct list, but I doubt if I have succeeded Lohānī is sometimes written نوحانی Nohānī or Nuhānī in the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> The place is جتھڑہ Jathra, جھڑہ Jahtra, جھڑہ Jharah, and جھٹڑہ Jhatwah in the MSS. and the lith. edn. Ferishtah has تيجڑہ Tijāra.

<sup>4</sup> Ferishtah has 9 persons described as Hijāb Khās, Col. Briggs calls them Lords of the bed chamber.

<sup>5</sup> Ferishtah has بہرہ خان; Col. Briggs has Miān Bhoory.

After some time Sultān Sikandar marched towards parganah Rāpri; <sup>1</sup> Ālam Khān the brother of the Sultān remained shut up for a few days, in the fort of Rāpri and Chandwār; but in the end he fled and went to <sup>2</sup> 'Isā khān, son of Tātār Khān Lodī in Patiāli. The territory of Rāpri was conferred on Khēn-i-Khānān Lohānī. The Sultan went to Itāwah, and passed seven months there: He went for 'Ālam Khān and brought him to his side, and separating him from 'Āzam Humāyūn gave the territory of Itāwah to him. He sent <sup>3</sup> Isma'il Khān Lohānī to Bārbak Shāh, *bādshāh* of Jaunpūr, for effecting peace, and himself went and attacked 'Isa Khān governor of Patiāli. The latter after some fighting was wounded, and in the end came humbly and offered his submission. He died afterwards of his wounds.

Rāy <sup>4</sup> Ganesh who had been on the side of Bārbak Shāh came and joined the Sultān. The districts of Patiāli were allotted to him. The Sultān then went and attacked Bārbak Shāh. The latter went from Jaunpūr to Kanouj, and the two sides engaged each other, and after some fighting <sup>5</sup> Mubārak Khān was taken prisoner, and Bārbak Shāh

<sup>1</sup> Ferishtah says that before his death Sultān Bahlol divided his kingdom in the following way: he gave Jaunpūr to Shāhzādah Bārbak Shāh, Karāh and Mānikpur to Shāhzādah 'Ālam Khān, Bahraich to his sister's son Shaikh Muhammad Farmuli, who became famous as Kālāpahār and Lucknow and Kālpī to 'Āzam Humāyūn, the son of Khwājah Bāyazid, his own eldest son who had before this been killed by one of his *Khidmatgārs*, Badāun to Khan-i-Jahānī who was one of his trustworthy Amīrs and was also related to him, and Delhi with vast territories in the Doāb to Shāhzādah Nizām Khān whom he made his heir and who afterwards became Sultan Sikandar Lodī.

<sup>2</sup> Isā Khān was Sultan Sikandar's cousin and had strongly opposed his succession.

<sup>3</sup> The name is spelt as اسماعیل خان and اسماعیل خان. It is not clear what kind of peace the Sultān wanted.

<sup>4</sup> The name is given as رای کنیس Rāy Kanes in all the MSS. and in the lith. edn. The two MSS. of Badāonī have رای کشن Rāy Kishun and رای کنس Rāy Kanes and the text has رای گنیش Rāy Ganesh. Ferishtah has رای کیلن Rāy Kilan. Col. Ranking has adopted Rāy Ganesh, and I have followed him.

<sup>5</sup> Badāonī says Mubārak Khān Lohānī who was with the army of Bārbak Shāh was taken prisoner. It appears that Muhammad Khān Farmuli, called the Kālā Pahār or the black mountain, was also taken prisoner in the battle. See note 1, Elliot IV, 456 for a curious anecdote about the generous way in

being defeated went to Badāūn. The Sultān pursued and besieged him. Bārbak Shāh then made his submission with great humility. The Sultān shewed him favour and made his heart glad, and took him with himself to Jaunpūr, and placed him, as before, on the Sharqī throne, but he divided the parganahs appertaining to the kingdom among his own Amīrs, and <sup>1</sup>everywhere left his own officers and employed trustworthy men in his service.

From that place he went to Kotlah and Kālpi and taking away Kālpi from Ā'zam Humāyūn son of Shāhzādah Khwājah Bāyezid, allotted it to Muhammad Khān Lodi. From there he went to <sup>2</sup>Jathra. Tātār Khān the governor of Jathra performed the duties of allegiance and fealty, and the government of the place was confirmed to him. He then moved towards the fort of Gwālīār; and sent Khwājah Muhammad Farmuli with a special robe of honour to Rajā Mān of that place. The latter also behaving with humility sent his nephew to attend on the Sultān, with direction to accompany him as far as Biānah. Sultān <sup>3</sup>Sharf, governor of Biānah, son of Sultān Āhmad Jilwānī also came forward to offer homage. The

which he was treated by Sultān Sikandar when he was taken prisoner, and his gratitude towards the Sultān in consequence. Ferishtah also mentions the incident.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the passage is not quite clear. The readings vary slightly. One MS. leaves out گماشت او معتمدان, and several leave out the word او after خدمت. The corresponding passage in Badāonī is اما برگزینان ولایت را بامرای خود تقسیم نموده هر جا افواج بر گماشت , و معتمدان را بر سر او موکل گردانید, from which it will be seen that according to Badāonī, he left detachments of troops and not officers. The difficulty as regards the passage in the text consists in the word از; either خود حاکم or حاکم از طرف خود would have been clearer; and also in the word او. Who is referred to? If it is the حاکم then the proper pronoun would be ایشان. Col. Ranking thinks that these officers were left to control Bārbak Shāh.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 356, note 3. Col. Ranking has adopted Jahtara from Ferishtah, but says he has failed to locate it.

<sup>3</sup> The name is given as شرف or اشرف in the MSS. and the lith. edn. The text of Badāonī reads سلطان الشرق. MSS. A and B read سلطان لشرق. Ferishtah has سلطان شرف. Col. Ranking has adopted سلطان شرق in one place and a few lines later on, سلطان شرف.

Sultān ordered him to give up Biānah, so that in exchange for it Jalesar, and Chandwār, and Mīrharah, and Saketh might be conferred on him. Sultān Sharf took 'Umar Khān<sup>1</sup> Sharwānī with him to Biānah, so that he might make over the keys of the fort to him. When he came to Biānah, however, he broke his promise, and strengthened the fort. Sultān Sikandar came to Agra. Haibat Khān Jilwani who was one of the retainers of Sultān Sharf shut himself up in the fort of Agra. The Sultān left some Amīrs to continue the siege of Agra, and himself went again to Biānah, and made very great efforts in besieging it. When Sultān Sharf was reduced to great straits, he humbly prayed for quarter. And in the year 897 A.H. (1491 A.D.): Biānah was taken; and the territory was allotted to Khān-i-Khānān Farmulī. Sultān Sharf was expelled from the place, and went to Gwalīar. The Sultan returned to Dehli and remained there for twenty-four days.

At this time news came, that the Zamīndārs of the territory of Jaunpūr, and <sup>2</sup> Bachgotis, and other men numbering about a lakh of foot-soldiers and horsemen had collected together, and Shīr Khān brother of <sup>3</sup> Mubīrak Khān had attained to martyrdom (i.e. had been killed by them); and Mubīrak Khān also, when he was crossing at the ferry of <sup>4</sup> Josī Prāk, which is at the place, where the city of <sup>5</sup> Ilhābād (Allihābīd) has now been established, and is one of the cities founded by Hazrat Khalifa-i-Ilāhī (the emperor Akbar),

<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. have سروانی Sarwānī but I have adopted سروانی Sharwānī following the remaining MS., as that is the name of the tribe as given in previous passages.

<sup>2</sup> A tribe of Rajputs said to be descended from the Mainpūrī Chauhāns notorious for their turbulence, originally Muhammadans (see Elliot, Races of N.-W.P., p. 47). It appears from the Tārikh-i-Dāūdī (Elliot IV, p. 457), that they were led by a Hindu named Jūgā.

<sup>3</sup> Mubārak Khān Lohānī governor of Karra.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Prāk is a corruption of Prayāg the Hindū name for Allahabad at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. Ferishtah has پرستی پیاں. I find that there is a place in Allahabad, which is now known as Jhunsī, which probably is identical with the Josī in the text. Bādāonī a few lines later has بیاک in the text, and بیاک and بپاک in the two MSS.

<sup>5</sup> Written in some MSS. as الہا یاس Ilhāyās.

was taken prisoner by the <sup>1</sup>boatmen. <sup>2</sup>Ray Bhīd Rājā of Patna becoming aware of this took Mubārak Khān from his captors and kept him in prison. Bārbak Shāh becoming aware of the power of these men came from Jaunpūr to Muhammad Farmuli, who was known as Kālā Pāhār at Dariābād.

Sultān Sikandar again in the year 897 H. (1491 A.D.) marched in that direction, and after crossing the river Ganges, he came to <sup>3</sup>Dalmau. Bārbak Shāh with all his Amīrs came to attend on him and was honoured with favours and kindnesses. Rāy Bhīd was so impressed with awe at the splendour of the arrival of the Sultān, that he released Mubārak Khān Lohānī, and sent him to attend on the Sultān. The latter marched from there to <sup>4</sup>Kahtar. There the Zamīndārs assembled in large numbers, and offered opposition; but at the end were defeated and many became food for the sword and the rest were dispersed. Much booty fell into the hands of the Sultān's troops. The Sultān then went to Jaunpūr, and again leaving Bārbak Shāh there, returned. He spent about a month in the neighbourhood of Audh in travelling about and hunting. When he arrived in Kahtar, news was brought to him that Bārbak Shāh was unable to remain in Jaunpūr, owing to the turbulence of the Zamīndārs. The Sultān ordered that Muhammad Farmuli and Ā'zam Humāyūn and Khān-i-Khānān Lohānī should march to Jaunpūr by way of Audh, and Mubārak Khān by way of Agra, and seizing Bārbak Shāh, should send him to the Sultān. They in compliance with the orders, went to Jaunpūr, and seizing Bārbak Shāh sent him to the Sultān. When Bārbak Shāh was brought to the

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<sup>1</sup> According to the translation of the *Tarikh-i-Dāūdī* in (Ell. IV, p. 457) Mubārak Khān was taken prisoner by Mullā Khān. Of course there is the difference of only a dot between ملا حان boatmen and ملا خان Mullā Khān but it was not likely that there should be a Musalman among the Hindus to seize Mubārak Khān. ملا حان is also transformed into ملا خان Mullā Khān in the trans. of the *Tār-i-Khān Jahān Lodi* (Ell. V, p. 93). Col. Briggs says Mubārak Khān was captured by Saha Dev Raja Kutra which may be a variant of Raja Bhīd of Patna.

<sup>2</sup> The name is given in the MSS. as رای بهید راجہ بہتہ, رای بہند راجہ بہتہ, رای بہد راجہ بہتہ or رای مہد راجہ بہتہ and in the lith. edn. as رای نند راجہ سنہ.

<sup>3</sup> Dalmau was opposite to Karra on the other side of the Ganges.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. the country now known as Rohilkhand.

presence, the Sultān placed him in charge of Haibat Khān, and 'Umar Khān Sharwānī. The Sultān then marched towards the fort of <sup>1</sup>Chunār from the vicinity of Jaunpūr. Some Amīrs of Sultān Husen Sharqī, who were there, gave battle, but were defeated and shut themselves up in the fort. As the fort was strong, the Sultān did not besiege it, but marched towards <sup>2</sup>Kantat, one of the dependencies of Patna. Rājā Bhīd, the Rājā of the place advanced to welcome him, and did homage. The Sultān confirmed him in the possession of Kantat and went away towards <sup>3</sup>Aril. In the meantime Rājā Bhīd became suspicious, and abandoning his equipage and regalia fled towards Patna. The Sultān sent all his property and equipage to him.

When the Sultān arrived at Aril, he stretched out his hands for plunder and laid waste and destroyed orchards and gardens and buildings; and proceeded to Dalmau by way of Karra; and marrying the nikāh wife of Shīr Khān, the brother of Mubārak Khān Lohānī, came to Shamsābād, and staying there for six months, went to Sambal; and again from Sambal, turned towards Shamsābād. On the way he plundered and slew the inhabitants of the town of <sup>4</sup>Madmaunākal which was the abode and the place of shelter of

<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. except one, which has جناره Junārah, have جنار or چنار Junār or Chunār. The lith. edn. has چنار Chunār. Badāonī has جنهار Junhār, جهتار (?) and چنار. Ferishtah has چنار. Col. Ranking transliterates چنار as Chinār and not Chunār, as I think he should have done.

<sup>2</sup> The name of this place is given as کنتت Kantat, کستت Kastat and کھیلو Khilū in the MSS. The lith. edn. has کنتن Kantanat. Badāonī does not mention the place. Ferishtah has Katanba. Kantat is on the S.W. bank of the Ganges in the Sarkār of Allahabad. See Āin-i-Akbarī (Jarett), II, 89; 158.

<sup>3</sup> Two of the MSS. and the lith. edn. have اريل Aril or Arial, one leaves out the name and one leaves out a whole line where the name would have occurred. Badāonī has اريل, but a footnote has a variant ارکل. Ferishtah has اريل. Arail is mentioned by Abūl Fazl (Āin-i-Akbarī (B.) I, 425. "He held Jhosī and Arail (or Jalālābād) as Jāigīr." Jhosī is apparently identical with Josī (see note, 4, p. 359).

<sup>4</sup> The name of this place is given as دیو قریہ باکلی, مدیو ناکل, مدمو ناکل (where the دیو and the قریہ have apparently got transposed) in the MSS. and the lith. edn. Badāonī does not mention the place at all. Ferishtah has دیو تاروی

rebels and turbulent men. The latter fled to Vazirābād. The people of Vazirābād were also slain and taken prisoners; and the Sultān then came to Shamsābād and spent the rainy season there.

In the year 900 H. (1494 A.D.) the Sultān started towards the country of Patna with the object of chastising <sup>1</sup>Rājā Bhīd; and on the way the villages of rebels were laid waste, and the inhabitants were slain or taken prisoners. When he arrived at <sup>2</sup>Khāran Ghāti he had a battle there with <sup>3</sup>Narsingh the son of the Rājā of Patna. Narsingh was defeated and abandoning Ghāti, fled towards Patna. When the Sultān arrived at Patna, the Rājā fled towards <sup>4</sup>Sarkanjah (Sargujah ?) but died on the way. The Sultān moved from Sarkanjah towards <sup>5</sup>Saund one of the dependencies of Patna. When he arrived opium, and <sup>6</sup>Koknār, and salt, and oil, became extremely

Deotārī, in the lith. edn., and Col. Briggs has Deonarry. Badāonī omits all mention of these incidents. Ferishtah follows our author.

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī says بعزیمت گوشمال متمردان ولایت پتنه روانه شد, i.e. he started with the intention of chastising the rebels of the country of Patna, but does not mention any Rājā; Ferishtah calls the Rājā Rāy Balbhadar.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. and the lith. edn. have کهارن کھانی Khāran Kh(or Gh)āti and کھارن لہالی Khārun Lhālī. Badāonī does not mention the place. He only says that the Sultān after staying and taking prisoner a great many in the districts of Patna went to Jaunpūr. Ferishtah, lith. text, calls the place کھارن و کمانی, but Col. Briggs does not mention the place where the Sultān halted, but he calls the place where Narsingh was defeated Hundia Ghat. The place is called Khān Ghatī in the trans. of the Tār-i-Khān Jahān Lodi (Ell. V, p. 94).

<sup>3</sup> The MSS. and the lith. edn. has نرسنگه Narsingh and برسنگه Barsingh. Badāonī as already mentioned in note 4, p. 361 passes over the incidents. Ferishtah has Narsingh. He is called Bir Singh Deo in the trans. of the Tār-i-Khān Jahān Lodi (Ell. V, p. 94).

<sup>4</sup> The MSS. have سرکنجه and سرکنجه, the first may be anything, the second in Sarkanjah. Ferishtah has سرکچھ Sarkachh. Col. Briggs has Surgooja.

<sup>5</sup> The MSS. have سوند Saund, and سہدوار Sahdwar. Ferishtah has سہدیو Sahdeo. Col. Briggs has Suhsdwar. The trans. of the Tār-i-Khān Jahān Lodi (Ell. V, p. 95) has Phāphūnd and it is said in a note that there is a Phāphūnd in the Doāb, but this Phāphūnd (if that is the correct name) must be some other wild district in the Bundelkhund hills. The lith. edn. has سنده.

<sup>6</sup> I cannot find the Eng. equivalent for Koknār. The dictionary says that

dear. The Sultān went from there to Jaunpūr. The horses, which during the journey to Patna had been worked very hard, died in large numbers; so much so that, one who had a hundred horses in the army lost ninety of them.

Rāy Lakhmi Chand, son of Rāy Bhīd, and all the Zamīndārs wrote to Sultān Husen that there were no horses left in the army of Sultān Sikandar, and provisions were scarce; it was a very great opportunity. Sultān Husen collected his forces, and came with a hundred elephants from Behar to attack Sultān Sikandar. The latter crossed the Ganges by the ford of Kantat and came to Chunār and thence to Benares; and sent the Khān-i-Khānān to <sup>1</sup>Salbāhan, son of Rāy Bhīd, to bring him in with promises of favours. At that time, the army of Sultān Husen was eighteen *karohs* from Benares. Sultān Sikandar marched with great rapidity against Sultān Husen. On the way Salbāhan came to attend on him. After skirmishes, a regular battle was fought, and Sultān Husen being routed went to the country of Patna. The Sultān, leaving his camp behind, pursued Sultān Husen with one lakh (light) cavalry, and on the way he was informed that Sultān Husen had gone to Behar. After nine days the Sultān returned, joined his camp and turned towards Behar. Sultān Husen, left <sup>2</sup>Malik Kandu in the citadel of Behar and went to Khul-Ganon, a dependency of Lakhnauti. Sultān Sikandar sent from his camp at <sup>3</sup>Deobār an army to attack Malik Kandu. The latter fled, and Behar fell into the hands of Sikandar's officers.

after the opium has flowed from the poppy the heads are bruised and boiled and the oil thus obtained is called *Koknūr*. It has a strong inebriating effect.

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that one son of Rāja Bhīd should be on the side of Sultān Husen and another on the side of Sultān Sikandar. Badāoni calls Salbāhan, راجه پتنه كه زمين دار معتبر بود, i.e., the Rāja of Patna, who was a trustworthy and well-to-do Zamindar. Ferishtah calls him پسر رای بهند.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. and the lith. edn. call him ملک کندو. Badāoni does not give any name, but says Sultān Husen left his deputy at Behar. Ferishtah has in the lith. edn. ملک کهندو Malik Khandu. According to a note in Col. Ranking's transl. of Badāoni another text of Ferishtah has Malik Kandhū.

<sup>3</sup> The name is given as دیو بار. Deobār, or دیومار Deomār in the MSS. and the lith. edn. Ferishtah has دیو بار Deobār.



The Sultân left Muhabbat Khân with some other Amirs at Behar, and went to Darveshpûr, and, having Khân-i-Khânân and Khân-i-Jahân in charge of the camp and the equipage, marched towards Tirhut. The Râ'y of Tirhut advanced to welcome him and offered his allegiance. The Sultân fixed a certain number of lakhs of *tangahs* as tribute to be paid by him, and leaving Mubārak Khân Lohāni to collect it, again returned to his camp at Darveshpûr.

On the 16th of Shawwāl 901 H. (1495 A.D.) Khân-i-Jahân died. The Sultân honoured his eldest son Āhmād Khân with the title of Āzam Humāyūn. After that he went on a pilgrimage to the tomb of <sup>1</sup>Shaikh Sharf Muniri (may God sanctify his resting place) at Behar; he made the Faqirs and the poor of the place happy; and then came back to Darveshpûr. From that place he advanced against Sultân 'Alāud-dīn Bādshāh of Bangālāh. When he arrived at <sup>2</sup>Tughlaqpûr, one of the dependencies of Behar, Sultân 'Ala-ud-dīn sent his son Dāniāl to meet him. Sultân Sikandar sent Mahmūd Khān Lodi and Mubārak Khān Lohāni from his side to oppose him. The two armies came into contact at Mouzah Bārah; and terms of an agreement were proposed, and it was settled that Sultân Sikandar should not trespass into Sultân 'Ala-ud-dīn's kingdom, and in the same way the latter should not in any way interfere with Sultân Sikandar's dominions, and should not give shelter to his enemies. After the settlement, Mahmūd Khān and Mubārak Khān Lohāni returned; and Mubārak Khān died in the town of Patnā, one of the dependencies of Behar. Sultân Sikandar went from Tughlaqpûr to Darveshpûr and stayed there for some months. That territory was given to Āzam Humāyūn, and Dariyā Khān, son of Mubārak Khān, received the province of Behar.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. and the lith. edn. all call him by the name in the text with some variation in the word منیری in two of the MSS. Badkōni gives him the high-sounding name of قطب المشايخ شرف الدين يحيى منیری. He was the son of Yahiyā-dīn-Isrā'īl, the head of the Chishtis, a disciple of Ganj-i-Shakkar. His burial place is in Behar, see Āin-i-Akbari (g) iii 370.

<sup>2</sup> Two of the MSS. and the lith. edn. have Tughlaqpûr. One MS. and the lith. edn. have Qalichpur. One MS. has omitted a part of the sentence containing the name of Tughlaqpûr. Badkōni does not name the place but says Dāniāl came to meet him near the neighbourhood of Behar.

During this year, there was scarcity of grain, and for the welfare of the people (the Sultān) remitted the collection of an <sup>1</sup>alms rate in grain in the whole of his dominions, and *farmāns* were issued prohibiting the levying of the alms rate, and from that day, the collection of alms rates in grain was abolished.

At this time the Sultān came to the town of Sāran, and taking some parganahs, in the vicinity of the town from the possession of the Zamindārs, granted them in *jāigīr* to his own men. From Saran he came by way of <sup>2</sup>Mahligarh to Jaunpūr, and after staying there for six months marched towards <sup>3</sup>Patna or Panna. It is related that the Sultān had asked for one of his <sup>4</sup>daughters from Rāy Sālbāhan, Rāy of Patna; and he refused the request. The Sultān, to take his revenge, marched towards Patna in the year 904 H. (1498 A.D.); and when he arrived there, he stretched out his hand for pillage, and did not leave a sign of cultivation. When he arrived at the fort of <sup>5</sup>Bāndhūgarh, which was the strongest fort of

<sup>1</sup> The actual words used both in the Tabaqāt and in Badāonī and Ferishtah are زکاة غله; زکاة means alms, for which all true Musalmāns are enjoined to give a certain percentage on all kinds of their annual incomes. I suppose the collection of the زکاة غله was something like the levy of a poor rate in grain which the Sultān used for the relief of the poor. I consider that Col. Ranking is not quite correct in calling it the customary tribute in grain; and Col. Briggs quite wrong in calling it the transit customs on grain.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. and the lith. edn. have Mahligarh with some slight variations Badāonī also has Mahligarh. Ferishtah has Machhligarh.

<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to make out the correct name from the MSS. and the lith. edn. Col. Ranking says that one MS. of Badāonī has پنه Panna but the text and the other MSS. have پتنه Patna. Ferishtah has پتمنه Pathmah. Briggs in his transl. has Panna, and Col. Ranking thinks that he must be correct, from the mention of Mādhogarh or Bāndhūgarh, which he says was one of the two chief fortresses in the province of Bāndhu which corresponds nearly with the State of Rewa, distant about 70 miles S. S.E. from Panna. It may be mentioned that according to the trans. of the Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lodi (Ell. v, p. 93) Rāy Bhīd and his son Sālbāhan, whom Col. Ranking and I have called Rājās of Patna, were Rājās of Panna.

<sup>4</sup> The demand of Sālbāhan's daughter is not mentioned by Badāonī, but is mentioned by Ferishtah.

<sup>5</sup> Various given as باندھوگرہ Bāndhūgarh, مادھوگرہ Mādhogarh and مادوگر Mādogar (see note 3 above).

that country and the place of residence of its ruler, bold warriors performed deeds of bravery, but on account of the strength of the fort, the Sultān went away from there to Jaunpūr; and staying there for a few days, occupied himself with affairs of State. In the course of his inquiries the accounts of <sup>1</sup>Mubārak Khān Mūjikhail Lodī, who had been placed in charge of Jaunpūr at the time when Bārbak Shāh was imprisoned, came under inspection; and although Mubārak Khān tried by various devices to get them passed, and got several Khāns to intercede for him, it was of no avail, and orders were passed that the collections of some years, according to the settlement of the Sultān, should be realized from him.

It so happened that at this time the Sultān was (one day) playing <sup>2</sup>*chaugān*. In the course of the play the <sup>3</sup>stick of Suleimān son of Dariyā Khān Sarwāni, having hit the stick of Haibat Khān, Suleimān's head was broken, and between them an altercation took place on this account, and became the cause of displeasure. Khizr, brother of Suleimān, in order to avenge his brother, intentionally hit Haibat Khān on the head, with a stick, and there was noise and turmoil. Mahmūd Khān and the Khān-i-Khānān took Haibat Khan to his house after comforting him; and the Sultān left the field and went into his palace. After four days he again mounted his horse for playing *chaugān*. On the road Shams Khān Nāmī, a relation of Haibat Khān, was standing full of wrath, as he saw Khizr, the brother of Suleimān, he at once smote the latter on the head with his *chaugān*; and by order of the Sultān, Shams Khān received many kicks. The Sultān turned back and went into the palace.

After this, he became suspicious of some of the Amīrs, and appointed some others whom he knew to be loyal and devoted to him to be his bodyguard, and these Amīrs guarded him every night after

<sup>1</sup> This is also not mentioned by Badāonī but is mentioned by Ferishtah who however calls Mubārak Khān, Mubārak Khān Mūjī; and adds that this became the cause of the displeasure of the Afghān Amīrs.

<sup>2</sup> Col. Ranking says that it is called *مولجان* *Sauljān* in Arabic. It is the original and oriental form of the game of polo.

<sup>3</sup> Col. Briggs calls it the bat. The incidents are mentioned very briefly by Badāonī. Ferishtah gives a detailed account which agrees generally with that given by our author.

arming themselves. At this time, some (Amīrs) acted with deceit and treachery. Twenty-two of the Sardārs conspired together, and incited Shāhzādah Fateh Khān, son of Sultān Bahlol, to make an attempt for the throne: and after oaths and engagements tried to create a disturbance and revolt. The Shāhzādah divulged the matters to <sup>1</sup> Sheikh Tahir and to his own mother: and mentioned the names of the conspirators. The Sheikh and the Shāhzādah's mother counselled him and it was settled that he should state everything to Sultān Sikandar, and thus cleanse his skirts from the stain of rebellion. He did so and the Sultān becoming cognisant of the treason and disloyalty of that band, with the advice of his ministers, in order to put down the revolt dispersed every one of them to a different place.

After that in the year 905 H. (1499 A.D.), the Sultān went to Sambal and stayed there for four years attending to affairs of State and living in happiness and luxury. He spent the greater part of his time in playing *chamgān* and in hunting.

At this time the Sultān received information of the evil deeds and malpractices of Asghar, governor of Dehli, and sent orders to Khawās Khān, the governor of <sup>2</sup> Machhiwārah, that he should seize Asghar and send him to the Sultan's presence. Khawās Khān in compliance with the order started towards Dehli; but before he could arrive there, Asghar came out of the fort (of Dehli) on the night of <sup>3</sup> Saturday in the month of Safar 906 (1500 A.D.), went to the pre-

<sup>1</sup> He is called Sheikh Tāhīr by Badāonī and Sheikh Tāhir Kūbulī by Ferishtah, but he is called Sheikh Tāhā in the trans. of the Tār-i-Dāūdī (Ell. IV, p. 464).

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. have *ماچھیوارہ* Machhiwārah except one which has *مجاوارہ* Majwārah; the lith. edition has *ماچھیوارہ* Machhwara. Badāonī has *ماچھیوارہ* and Ferishtah has *ماچھیوارہ*. The trans. of the Tār-i-Khān Jahān Lodī has Machhiwārah. Machhiwārah is on the bank of the Sutlej where Bairām Khān and other commanders of Humāyūn's army defeated the Afghāns when Humāyūn was returning to Dehli after his wanderings.

<sup>3</sup> The MSS. and Ferishtah all say *در شب شنبه ماه صفر سنه سته تسعمائده* but leave out the date. The lith. edn. gives the same words but calls the month Muharram and not Safar. The trans. of the Tār-i-Khān Jahān Lodī (Ell. V, p. 96) says 1st of Safar 906 H (27 Aug., 1500). This work also says that Khawās Khān on arrival at Dehli left his son Ismail Khān there, and went according to orders to Sambal. The Sultān received him graciously and presented him with an honorary vest.

sence of the Sultān in Sambal, and was sent to prison. Khawās Khān took charge of Dehli and began to govern it.

It was reported that there was a man with a sacred thread (i.e. a Brāhman) of the name of <sup>1</sup> Laudhan who lived at Kāner. One day in the presence of some Musalmāns he had admitted that Islām was true, and his own religion was also true. This statement of his having been published came to the ears of the learned men. <sup>2</sup> Qāzi Piyārā and Sheikh Badah who were both in Lakhnauti gave *fatwas*, contradicting each other. Ā'zam Humāyun, the governor of that territory, sent the Brāhman with Qāzi Piyārā and Sheikh Badah to the Sultān at Sambal. As the Sultān had a great inclination for hearing learned dissertations, celebrated learned men were sent for from all directions. <sup>3</sup> Miān Qādan, son of Sheikh Khūju, and Miān 'Abdullah son of Ilahadād Talanbī; and Saiyed Muhammad, son of Sa'id Khān, came from Delhi, and Mulla Quth-ud-dīn, and Mulla I'lhadād, and Sāleh from Sirhind, and Saiyad Amiān and Mirān Saiyad Ākhan from Kanauj and the band of learned men who were always with the Sultān, such as Saiyad Sadr-ud-dīn Kanaujī, and Miān 'Abdur-Rahmān resident of Sikrī, and Miyān Azīzullah Sambali. were also present at the discussion. The learned men all agreed on this that the man should be imprisoned, and should be

<sup>1</sup> The name is given as لودن Laudan, and لودھن Laudhan (or Lodhan), and نودھن Naudhan (or Nodhan) in the MSS. and the lith. edn. Ferishtah has in the lith. edn. يودھن Yudhan. Col. Briggs has Boodhun. The trans. of the Tār.-i-Dāūdī (Ell. IV, p. 464) has Laudhan. Kāner is variously written as کانیر, کانیر, and کانہر in the MSS. کانتہی in the lith. edn. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has کایتھن Kaithan. Col. Briggs has Katnen near Lucknow but I do not know where he got the 'near Lucknow' from. From what follows it appears that the place was near Lakhnauti and not near Lucknow. The trans. of the Tar.-i-Dāūdī (Ell. IV, p. 464) has Kāner.

<sup>2</sup> About Qāzi Piyārā there is no doubt though Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has Qāzi Piādah and Col. Briggs Qāzi Puala. As regards the other man some of the MSS. have بدہ, while others omit the sentence containing the names. The lith. edn. has بدہ. Ferishtah has بدر Col. Briggs. Budr, and the trans. of the Tār.-i-Dāūdī, Badr.

<sup>3</sup> The first learned man had a most out-landish name, he is called قادن Qādan and قادن in the MSS. and in the lith. edn., Ferishtah has قادر, and the trans. of the Tār.-i-Dāūdī, Kūdan. His father's name is خوجو, or خوخو or جوجو or خواجو.

asked to accept Islām; if he declined he should be slain. Laudhan refused to accept Islām and was killed. The learned men were all rewarded and sent to their own residences.

After a few days, Khawās Khān leaving Delhi in charge of his son Ismail Khān, came in accordance with the Sultān's orders to Sambal, and received a robe of honour and other favours. At this time, Sa'id Khān <sup>2</sup>Sharwānī came from Lahore, and did homage. As he was among those who intended treason, the Sultān banished him, and Tātār Khān and Muhammad Shāh, and all the traitors from his dominions. They went to Gujrāt by way of Gwālīār. At this time Rāja Mān, Rāja of Gwālīār, sent one of his eunuchs of the name of Nehāl with fine and valuable presents and gifts for the Sultān. When the Sultān asked him questions, he gave discourteous replies. The Sultān by way of protest sent the man away with threats of coming himself and seizing the fort.

At this time news came of the death of Khān-i-Khānān Farmuli, governor of Biānah. For some time, Biānah was kept in charge of <sup>3</sup>Imad and Suleimān, sons of the Khān-i-Khānān. But as Biānah owing to the strength of the fort and its being on the frontier became a place of disturbance and revolt, Imad and Suleimān came from Biānah with their dependants to Sambal. The Sultān took Biānah and made it over to Khawās Khān; and after some days Safdar Khān was appointed administrator of Agra, a dependency of Biānah. <sup>4</sup>Shamsābād and Jalesar and Manglor and Shāhābād and

<sup>1</sup> This is evidently the 'honorary vest' mentioned by the translator of the *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lodi* (see note 3, p. 367).

<sup>2</sup> Sarwānī and Sharwānī in different MSS. in *Ferishtah*.

<sup>3</sup> All the MSS. and Badāoni and the *Tār-i-Khān Jahān Lodi* agree in saying that the sons of Khān-i-Khānān, Imād and Suleimān succeeded him. *Ferishtah* in the lith. edn. has in one place احمد و سليمان پسران پسر خان خانان Ahmad and Suleimān, sons of the son of the Khān-i-Khānān and in the next line احمد و سليمان پسران خانخانان Ahmad and Suleimān sons of Khān-i-Khānān. Col. Briggs does not give the names, but says the sons of the Khān-i-Khānān succeeded him. Col. Ranking thinks that *Ferishtah* is right and that Ahmad and Suleimān, grandsons of the Khan-i-Khānān, succeeded him.

<sup>4</sup> Badāoni does not mention this. The author of the *Tār-i-Khān Jahān Lodi* agrees with the text. *Ferishtah* also does so, except that he substitutes Kūmpila for Manglor.

some other perganahs were conferred on 'Imād and Suleimān in jāigīr.

'Ālam Khān, governor of Miwāt, and Khān-i-Khānān Lohānī, governor of Rāpri, were ordered that they should in conjunction with Khawās Khān, engage in the capture of the fort of Dholpūr and take it from the possession of <sup>1</sup>Rāy Vināyak Deo. The Rāy came forward to oppose them and much severe fighting took place, and <sup>2</sup>Khawājah Bain who was among the heroes who broke the (enemy's) battle array, there attained to martyrdom; and every day large numbers were slain. When this news reached Sultān Sikandar he in great anxiety left Sambal for Dholpūr on Friday the 6th Ramazān of the aforementioned year. When he arrived in the vicinity of Dholpūr, Rāy Vināyak Deo went away to Gwālīār, leaving his dependants in the fort. The latter, being unable to withstand the attack of the Sultān's army, left the fort in the midnight and fled. In the early morning, the Sultān entered the fort, and after <sup>3</sup>offering a brief thanksgiving, carried out the rites of victory; and the soldiers stretched out their hands for pillage and destruction, laid waste the houses and uprooted the orchards all round Dholpūr which had cast their shade to a distance of seven *karohs*.

The Sultān stayed there for a month, and then started for Gwālīār, and leaving Ādam Lodī and many Amīrs at that <sup>4</sup>place crossed the Cīambal and encamped on the bank of the <sup>5</sup>Asī otherwise

<sup>1</sup> The name is very distinctly given in one MSS. as بنایک دیو Vināyak Deo; in the others and in the lith. edn. it is بناکدی or سالکدی or سامکدی Bīnakdi, or Salkdi and Samkdi. Ferishta and Col. Briggs have دیو بنایک, Rāy Vināyak Deo. Badāonī omits the name and so does the author of the Tār-i-Dāūdī, calling him the Rāy of the place but a few lines further down, the former calls him Mānik Deo. The Tār-i-Khān Jahān Lodī has Rāy Mānik Deo. Dholpūr is one of the Rājput States. The town of Dholpūr is 34 miles S. of Agra and 37 miles N.W. of Gwālīār.

<sup>2</sup> The name is given as بنین, بنین, and مین in the MSS. The lith. edn. has مین. Ferishta has بنین. Col. Briggs has Babun. Badāonī, omits his name. The Tār-i-K.J. has Khwāja Ben; the Tār-i-D. does not mention him.

<sup>3</sup> The actual words are دو گانه شکر بنقدیم رسانیده; دو گانه appears to be a prayer with two genuflections; a short prayer.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently Dholpūr.

<sup>5</sup> Col. Ranking says that he cannot definitely identify this river, the

called the Mendakī, and stayed there for two months. On account of the bad water of the place, illness prevailed among the men ; and it became the source of a pestilence. The Rājā of Gwāliār offered his submission and sued for peace. He expelled Sa'id Khan and Bābū Khān and Rāy Ganesh who had fled from the Sultān and taken shelter with him, from the fort and sent his eldest son <sup>1</sup> Bikramājīt to attend on the Sultān. The latter gave him a horse and a robe of honour, and granted him permission to return, and himself turned back towards Agra. When he arrived at Dholpūr, he conferred that territory on Vināyak Deo, and coming to Agra, spent the rainy season there.

After the <sup>2</sup>rising of Canopus, in the month of Ramazān in the year 910 H. (1504 A.D.), he raised his standards for the conquest of the fort of <sup>3</sup> Mundrāel. He stayed for a month in the vicinity of Dholpūr, and sent his troops that they might plunder and ravage the country round Gwāliār and Mundrāel. After that he went himself and besieged the fort of Mundrāel. The garrison begged for quarter and surrendered the fort. The Sultān demolished the idol temples <sup>4</sup>

Āsan in Keith Johnston (India) e. f. flowing west of Gwāliār would answer to the Asī in position. Rennel's map gives no name to the river. Medakī, as Ferishtah has it, Col. Ranking says, means frog-haunted. The correct Sans word would be Mandūkī and Mendakī as the Tabaqāt has it, is a nearer approximation than Medakī.

<sup>1</sup> The correct Sanskrit name is Vikramāditya. The name given in the text agrees with those given in Badāoni, Ferishtāh and in the Tār.-i-K.J.L. Col. Briggs (trans. of Ferishtah) says that Sa'id Khān and Bābū Khān were both Sheerwanīs and the Rāy sent his son with costly presents. In the lith. edn (of Ferishtah) Sa'id Khān and Babu Khān are not called Sheerwānīs or anything else, nor does it contain any mention of presents.

<sup>2</sup> Which indicates the end of the rains.

<sup>3</sup> Col. Ranking says that Mundrāel is not marked in Rennel's map, but Tuffenthaler (I, 174) mentions it under the name of Mandalayer or Madrael and says that it is upon the side of a round hill distant two miles from the western bank of the Chambal and 12 miles S.S.E. of Caroli (Kerauli). See Keith Johnston's Atlas India E.F. Mandler. See Āin-i-Akbari (J) II 190, Mandlāir.

<sup>4</sup> The actual words are کتابس و بتخانها. Col. Briggs translates them as idol temples, and Col. Ranking as idol temples and churches. Kanayes, (pl. of کنیسه) are fire temples. For an essay on Fire-worship in Upper India see Elliot V, appendix (p. 559).



and fire temples and founded mosques. He left <sup>1</sup>Mian Makan, deputy of Mujāhid Khān, in charge of the fort and himself moved about plundering and ravaging that country, and seized and took prisoner a large number of people, and after razing to the ground orchards and buildings started towards Agra, and when he arrived at Dholpūr he rebuilt the fort there; and taking it away from Rāy Vināyak Deo, placed it in charge of Malik <sup>2</sup>Qamr-ud-dīn, and himself remained in Agra, and sent the Amīrs to their *jāigīrs*.

At this time on Sunday the 3rd of Safar in the year 911 H. (6th July, 1505 A.D.) there was a violent earthquake in Agra, so that hills began to shake and lofty and strong buildings also fell down. The living thought it to be the day of resurrection and the dead thought it the day of rising.

<sup>3</sup> In nine hundred and eleven, from earthquakes,  
The land of Agra became like places of death.  
As the foundations were very strong  
From the earthquakes the high became low.

From the time of Adam till this time, such an earthquake had not occurred in any parts of Hindustān; and no one remembers such an earthquake. They say that on that very day, there were earthquakes in many cities of Hindustān. After the rising of the Canopus in the year 911 H. (1505 A.D.) the Sultān moved towards Gwālār: and after waiting in Dholpūr, for one and half month, encamped near the ford of <sup>4</sup>Kusla on the bank of the Chambal and

<sup>1</sup> The name is not given in either Badāonī or Ferishtah. The latter says he left it in charge of a trustworthy man.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the MSS. and the lith. edn. have Malik Qamr-ud-dīn; other MSS. have *ملك فخر الدين* Malik Fakhr-ud-dīn and *ملك عز الدين* Malik 'Izz-ud-dīn. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has *شيخ قمر الدين* Shaikh Qamr-ud-dīn. Badāonī does not mention the name. Briggs has Shaikh Qamr-ud-dīn.

<sup>3</sup> The same verses occur in Badāonī. The only difficulty is about the word *مرحله*. *مرحلة* is a place of starting *جای رحلت*; hence a stage in a journey. Col. Ranking has translated it as the goal of several successive earthquakes. I have translated it as places of departure or death.

<sup>4</sup> The MSS. have *كسلا* Kuslah, *کور کهنه* Kūrkuhnah, *کور* Kūrkah. The lith. edn. has *کهنه* Kuhnah. Ferishtah has *کوکھ* Kūkha. In the Tār-i-K.J.L. it is called the ferry of Gour.

stayed there for several months. Then leaving Shāhẓādah <sup>1</sup>Ibrāhīm and Jalāl Khān with other Khāns there, he marched out with the intention of carrying on a war of religion and of plunder. He pillaged and took prisoner and slew the greater part of the people who had escaped into the jungles and hills. As owing to the non-arrival of the <sup>2</sup>Banjārahs to the army, grain came only in small quantities. The Sultān sent Ā'zam Humāyūn and Āhmad Khān and Mujāhid Khān to bring them, and <sup>3</sup>although the Rāy of Gwālīār withstood them on the road he was unable to do anything. Couplet :

The moth that hurls itself on the lamp  
With envy, on its own heart doth put a stain.

When the Sultān, in the course of his marches, came to <sup>4</sup>Hashāwar, one of the dependencies of Gwālīār, an advance guard went forward everyday ten *karohs* ahead of the army towards the enemy and kept watch, and knew the movements of the latter.

Verse :

<sup>5</sup>For if in that brave and warlike host  
Thou, shotst an arrow sharp and fast ;

<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. have شاهرآده خان Shāhẓādah Khān. Badāonī is silent about all that occurred between the earthquake and the siege of Untgarh. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has شاهرآده ابراهيم. The Tār-i-K.J.L. has prince Jalāl Khān.

<sup>2</sup> Col. Briggs says that this is the first mention of this useful class in Muhammedan history. He says that they form a very ancient Hindu mercantile community who live in tents, have laws of their own and do not intermarry with the people of the towns. The men are remarkable for their courage, integrity and enterprise and the women for their chastity. An account of this race in the Deccan will be found in the first vol. of the Bombay literary transactions. They appear to be extinct now, but I heard the name Banjārin, i.e. a Banjara woman, in a child's doggerel, when I was a boy at Lucknow, about 60 years ago.

<sup>3</sup> This agrees almost word for word with Ferishtah (lith. edn.), but Col. Briggs says that Ā'zam Humāyūn and the other generals effected the work at great risk owing to the vigorous efforts of the inhabitants in the vicinity of Gwālīār.

<sup>4</sup> All the MSS have حشاور Hashāwar, but the lith. edn. has چتاور, Chitawar, and so has the translator of the Tar-i-K.J.L. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has جنور, Janur, and Col. Briggs, Chinoor.

<sup>5</sup> Two of the MSS. omit the verses altogether, one MS. and the lith. edn. and Ferishtah (lith. edn.) all have the reading I have adopted. Another MS. has a somewhat different reading.

From the bow while yet it had not gone far,  
The king on his sky-high throne received the news.

The army of the Rāj of Gwālār at the time of the return came out of ambush, and a severe battle took place. <sup>1</sup> Audh Khān and Ahmad Khan son of Khān-i-Jahān were in that detachment; and it was on account of their exertion and bravery, and the help of the Sultān's army, that the Rājputi were defeated, and a large number of them were slain and taken prisoner. The Sultān conferred the title of Malik Audh on Audh Khān and showed him favour; and on account of the approach of the rains turned toward Agra. When he arrived at Dholpūr, he left a large number of notable Amīrs at that place, and going himself to Agra stayed there during the rains.

After the rising of Canopus, in the year 912 H. (1596 A.D.), he marched towards the fort of <sup>2</sup> Uditnagar. When he arrived at Dholpūr he sent 'Imad Khān Farnauli and Mujahid Khān, with <sup>3</sup> some thousands of horsemen and one hundred elephants towards the fort, and remained where he was. He appointed Qizī 'Abdul Wahid, son of Tahir Bag Kabuli, resident of the town of Thane-war, and Sheikh 'Umr and Sheikh Ibrahim to the posts of chamberlains. The governorship of Kalpi had been confirmed to Jalāl Khān the son of Mahmūd Khan Lodī, after the latter's death. Bhukhan Khān and Hājī Khān, brothers of Jalāl Khān having quarrelled with each other, made a representation of their affairs to the Sultān. The latter sent Firoz Aghwān to them. The Aghwāns are a tribe akin to the Afghāns. The Sultān then left Mujahid Khān at Dholpūr and

<sup>1</sup> Several of the MSS. have **اودد خان** Audh Khān, but one or two and Ferishtah and the translator of the *Tar-i-Kābil* have **داود خان** Dāūd Khān. The latter make both the men named sons of Khān-i-Jahān, while the MSS. and the lith. edn., and Ferishtah all have the word **پسر** son, in the singular, making Ahmad Khān alone the son of Khān-i-Jahān.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. have **اوسکی, اوننکر, اوننکر**, which are difficult to decipher correctly, and **ادتنگر** Uditnagar. The lith. edn. has **ادتنگر** Uditnagar. Badāonī has **اوننگر** Auntgar. Col. Ranking has Antgarh. Ferishtah has **ادوننگر** Udwantgarh and Col. Briggs Hunwantgarh. Col. Ranking says that this fortress lay just south of Mandlaer, and is shewn in the map as Deogarh, see *Āin-i-Akbari* (B) 1380, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> One MS. has **با پنج هزار**, with five thousand (horsemen).

encamped on the bank of the Chambal. Bhīkhan Khān and Hājī Khān came and did homage and were honoured with favours.

The Sultān came to Uditnagar on the 23rd of the afore-mentioned month and besieged the fort. He ordered that the whole army should be ready to fight stoutly and should devote themselves to the capture of the fort, with all weapons of warfare and destruction. The Sultān, in his own person, engaged in the battle, at the moment which astrologers had accepted, and the conflict raged in all directions. The soldiers clung like ants and locusts and showed their bravery and manliness, and the breeze of victory and triumph began to blow on the plumes of the Sultan's standards and a breach was made on the side on which Malik 'Alā-ud-dīn was leading the attack, and brave warriors having entered, carried on the *Jahād* and although the garrison raised cries for quarter, it did not reach anyone's ears. There were other breaches on other sides, and the fort was captured. Couplet :

Should the fort of heaven be high

The warrior would throw his sunlike noose.

And the Rājputs taking shelter in their houses fought and then killed and burnt their wives and children. At this time an arrow hit the eye of Malik 'Alā-ud-dīn, and made his world-seeing eyes lightless. After the victory the Sultān performed the rites of thanksgiving, and placed the fort in charge of <sup>1</sup> Makan and Mujāhid Khān. He destroyed the idol temples and ordered the erection of mosques. As it had reached the ears of the Sultān that Mujāhid Khān had taken a bribe from the Rājā of Uditnagar, and had promised, that he would turn the Sultān back from the fort, he, on the 16th of the month of Muharram, 913 H. (28th May, 1507) imprisoned <sup>2</sup> Mulla Juman, his

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the MSS. have Makan and Mujāhid Khān, so has the lith. edn. and the Tār-i-K.J.L. Some of the MSS. have omitted the clause about the charge of the fort. Ferishtah has Bhīkhan Khān son of Mujāhid Khān. I have thought it proper to retain Makan, as it was stated in a previous page, that he, as agent of Mujāhid Khān, was placed in charge of the fort of Mandrāil and Bhīkhan Khān was mentioned, only a few lines before this, as a son of Mahmūd Khān Lodi. It is not likely that there should be two Bhīkhan Khāns.

<sup>2</sup> The Tār-i-K.J.L. calls him Moulāna Juman. Ferishtah calls him Malik Chaman. The Tār-i-K.J.L. says that the fort was placed in charge of Malik Tāj-ud-dīn Kambu.

chamberlain, who was a special intimate of Muḡāhid Khān and made him over to Malik Tāj-ud-dīn Kambu, and an order was sent to the Khāns, who were at Dholpūr, that they should imprison Muḡāhid Khān.

The army marched towards Agra in the month of Muharram 913 H. (1507 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> On the way, one day on account of the narrowness and unevenness of the road, which required the men to go now up and now down, a halt was ordered for the passage of the army, and many people died on account of the want of water and the great multitude of animals. On the day the price of a goglet of water rose to fifteen *tangahs*, and some who obtained water, on account of their great thirst, drank so much of it that they died. When, according to orders, the corpses were counted, they were found to be eight hundred in number. Couplet:

When the days of one's existence are finished,  
Water in a man's mouth acts like poison.

The Sultān arrived in Dholpūr on the 28th of the aforesaid month, and after staying there for a few days he came to Agra and passed the rainy season there.

After the rising of Canopus, in the year 913 H. (1507 A.D.) the Sultān determining on the capture of the fort of Narwar, a dependency of Mālwah, sent an order to <sup>4</sup>Jalāl Khān, the governor of Kalpi, that he should go and besiege it, and if the garrison should seek for peace, he

<sup>1</sup> These incidents are mentioned in the Tār-i-K.J.L. and in Ferishtah and also in less detail in the Tār-i-Dāudī.

<sup>2</sup> The Tār-i-K.J.L. makes it the 27th. Ferishtah gives the month, but not the date.

<sup>3</sup> It appears from a note in Col. Ranking's trans. of Badāonī that Narwar lay about half-way between Gwāliār and Dhūr. He also says that Tieff. 1. 175 has a description and map of the fortress, and that according to the Āin-i-Akbarī (J.) 11. 190 it lay on the right bank of the river Sind 44 miles south of Gwāliār city. He also refers to Hunter, Imp. Gaz. X, 227. As I was doubtful about Narwar being on the bank of the river Sind I looked into Āin-i-Akbarī (J.) 11. 190. What I found there did not agree exactly with Col. Ranking's note. It appears there that Narwar is a strong fort, and in certain parts of it, there are Hindu temples built of stone. The Kālī Sind is one of the rivers in Sarkār Narwar.

<sup>4</sup> He was the son of Mahmūd Khān Lodī and had become governor of Kālpi on the death of his father.

should not reject their prayer. Jalāl Khān Lodī went and besieged the fort. The Sultān also after a few days arrived there. On the following day, when the Sultān mounted to go and reconnoitre the fort, Jalāl Khān stood on the road having arranged his army; so that its multitude might come under the Sultān's eye, and the value of his services may be known. He had divided his forces into three armies: one of infantry, a second of cavalry and the third of elephants. The Sultān saw the multitude of his army, became envious, and determined in his mind, that he would gradually ruin him and subvert his power. The Sultān carried on the siege for a year, and as the fort was very strong, and its length eight *karohs*, the troops went to attack it every day and were slain. After a few days had passed in this way, the Sultān ordered that the troops should get ready <sup>1</sup>twisted leather thongs, large knives, shovels, and spades and battle axes for the purpose of undermining the fort, and then attack it. The troops acted in accordance with the orders, and attacked the fort from all sides, and showed great bravery and courage. The Sultān stood on the roof of a house and inspected all that was going on. He saw that the fort was breached at one place, and immediately the breach was closed from within: and large numbers of his men were slain. The fort could not be taken that day, and he therefore brought back his army. Even during this time, the Sultān was busy planning to seize and ruin Jalāl Khān. He drew his best men to his own side, and disorganised his troops. After that two *farmāns* were issued; one for the seizure of Jalāl Khān, addressed to Ibrāhīm Khān Lohānī and Suleimān Farmulī, and Malik 'Alā-ud-dīn Jalwānī; and another addressed to Miān Bhuah who was the *Vazīr*, and Sa'id Khān, son of Zakuh, and Malik Ādam. And the aforementioned Khāns put Jalāl Khān and Shīr Khān in chain, carried them to the fort of Uditnagar and kept them imprisoned there.

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<sup>1</sup> The weapons named would hardly be very effective in undermining and capturing a strong fort, but apparently those were the only ones available. The actual words are بیل, زانول, ساطور, طرة; طرة ordinarily means a tress of curling hair. The only meaning given in the dictionary that would at all apply are twisted leather thongs; a ساطور according to the dictionary is a butcher's large knife; a زانول is a mattock, or battle axe; and a بیل is a shovel, or spade.

After these events, the garrison of Narwar, after suffering much privation for want of water and the dearth of grain, begged for quarter, and went out with their goods and chattels. The Sultān destroyed the temples and laid the foundations of mosques; and fixed stipends, and allowances for learned men and students, and settled them there; and stayed for six months at the foot of the fort. At this time news came, that Shahāb-ud-dīn, the son of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn, the ruler of Mālwa, being annoyed with his father was coming to the court of the Sultān. When he came near <sup>1</sup>Sūi, one of the dependencies of Mālwa, the Sultān sent a horse and a robe of honour to him, with the message that if he would surrender Chanderi which was a dependency of Mālwa, he should receive such help that Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn would have no power over him. It so happened however, that certain things occurred which prevented Shāhzādah Shahāb-ud-dīn's coming out of Mālwa, as is narrated in the section about that kingdom.

Sultān Sikandar marched from the fort of Narwar on the 26th day of the month of Sha'bān, 914 H. (1508 A.D.), arrived on the bank of the river Sipra in the month of Zi-quādah of the same year, and there it came into his mind, that as the fort of Narwar was so extremely strong, that if it should fall into the hands of an enemy, it could not be recaptured from him. For this reason, he erected another fort round it, so that an enemy should not be able to seize it. Having freed his mind from this anxiety he came to the town of <sup>2</sup>Lahāyer and stayed there for a month. At this time <sup>3</sup>N'amat

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have سیری Sīrī, سپری Sipri, سهری which is difficult to decipher. The lith. edn. has تیسری Tisri. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has میری. Badāonī does not mention Shahāb-ud-dīn at all, but says that Muhāmmad Khān, grandson of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn, sought the protection of Sultān Sikandar, but that was in 915 A.H. (1509 A.D.).

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. have لہایر Lahāyer except one which has لہابر Lahābar. The lith. edn. has لہایر Labhāyer. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has بہار Behār. Col. Briggs has Yehar. Badāonī does not mention the Sultān's coming to the place, but he says that in 915 A.H. he marched from لہایر Lahāyer. Col. Ranking transliterates it as Lahāyar and says in a note that Lahār is placed in Renue's map about 50 miles S.E. of Gwālīār. He also refers to Hunter Imp. Gaz. VIII, 400.

<sup>3</sup> Ferishtah says that the Khātūn was the مروضہ foster-mother of the

Khātūn, wife of Qutb Khān Lodī, came with Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān and joined the Sultān's army. The Sultān went to see them, and sought their affection, and after a few days, the Sarkār of Kālpi was conferred as a *Jāigīr* on Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān. He also gave him 120 horses, and 15 elephants with a robe of honour, and a sum in cash, and sent him off with the Khātūn towards Kālpi. Couplet:

Be generous, for generosity

Doth make the free man thy bounden slave.

On the 10th Muharram 915 A.H. (1509 A.D.) the Royal Standards marched out from Lahāyer, and when they arrived in the neighbourhood of <sup>1</sup> Hatkānt, he sent troops against the rebels of those districts, and purified them from rebels and disturbers of the peace; and leaving posts in different places, went and stayed in the metropolis of Agra. At this time news came that Āhmad Khān, son of Mubārak Khān Lodī, the governor of <sup>2</sup> Lakhnautī had, associating with infidels, become perverted and had turned back from the religion of Islām. An order was sent to Muhammad Khān, brother of Ahmad Khān, that he should arrest the latter and send him to the Sultān; and the Sarkār of Lakhnautī was placed in charge of Sa'īd Khān, his brother.

At the same time Muhammad Khān, the grandson of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mālwi, became suspicious of his grandfather, and sought Sultān Sikandar's protection, and the Sarkār of Chandari was appointed as his *jāigīr*, and an order was issued to Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān, that he should help and support him, so that he might not suffer any injury from the army of Mālwah. At this time the Sultān

Shāhzādah. Col. Briggs calls her his wet nurse. Qutb Khan Lodī is described as Sultān Bahlol's cousin in the *Tār-i-Dāudī*, Ell. IV, p. 468.

<sup>1</sup> See note 3, p. 350.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the MSS. and the lith. edn. have لکھنوتی Lakhnauti; one MS. has لکھنؤ Lakhnau with a superfluous و. Badāonī does not mention this matter at all. Ferishtāh (lith. edn.) also has لکھنوتی, Lakhnauti; but Col. Briggs and the translator of the *Tār-i-K.J.L.* have Lucknow. Col. Briggs thinks that it is not likely that a Musalmān like Āhmad Khān should have become an idolater. He thinks that Āhmad Khān was probably forbearing and tolerant to the Hindus, and this was sufficient for his being considered to be a Hindu.



had a great desire for travelling about and hunting; and he moved towards Dholpūr; and from Agra to Dholpūr he erected mansions and palaces, at each stage. As fortune was his friend, when he was engaged in hunting, he obtained a kingdom as his prey. The details of this brief statement are these, that <sup>1</sup>'Alī Khān and Ābū Bakr, relations of Muhammad Khān, ruler of Nāgor, acting treacherously towards the latter wanted to kill him by deceit, and take possession of his territory; and he having received information of this treachery, attacked them. They fled and came to the court of the Sultān. Muhammad Khān knowing the enmity of his brothers and relations, and also that they had asked for the protection of the great Sultān, acted with great foresight, and sent representations couched in sincere language, and many gifts and presents, and inserted the name of the Sultān in the public prayers and coinage of his territory, and the Sultān sent him a robe of honour and a horse. He then returned from Dholpūr and took up his residence in his Capital of Agra. And for some time, having spread a bed of pleasure, wandered about in gardens, and enjoyed himself in festive society and pleasure and rest. It should be known that <sup>2</sup>Agra became the seat of the throne in his time.

After a considerable time, he again marched towards Dholpūr. At this time he ordered Miān Suleimān, son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmulī, that he should go with his army and equipage to Uditnagar to the confines of <sup>3</sup>Sui Sūr to help and reinforce Hasan Khān newly converted to Islām, who had the name of Rāy Dūngar, and he

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī does not give these names, but Col. Ranking in a note says that Ferishtah calls them 'Alī Khān and Ābū Bakr. But the lith. edn. of Ferishtah which I have got and Col. Briggs give Ābū Bakr as the name of one of them. The Tār-i-K.J.L. however has Abū Bakr.

<sup>2</sup> It appears that up to this time Agra was a dependency of Biānah.

<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to decipher this name. The MSS. have سوری Sūrī, سوی سیر Suī Sūr and سوی میور Suī Mīur. The lith. edn. has تبنی سویر Tabnī Suīr. Ferishtah and Badāonī do not give the name. The Tār-i-K.J.L. has Suisīpūr. The name, however, occurs in Badāonī in another connection. It is there given سوی سوبر Sūī Sūr with a variant سیوی و سیوپر Sūī wa Sūipur. Col. Ranking says in a note that at that place Ferishtah has سیوپور Sīūpūr. The lith. edn. of Ferishtah has شیوپور Shīūpūr at that place.

excused himself, and said that he should not go away from attendance on the Sultān. These words became the cause of the displeasure of the Sultān, and he ordered that he (i.e. Miān Suleimān) should be dismissed from his (the Sultān's) service, and whatever of his goods and chattels he should be able to carry away during that night should belong to him, and what he would be unable to take away should be allowed to be pillaged by the people. The *pargana* of Indari was given to him as a means of subsistence, and he went and took up his residence there.

At this time Bahjat Khān, the governor of Chanderi, whose ancestors had for generations been the subjects of the bādshāh of Mālwah, on account of the weakness of Sultān Mahmūd Mālwi, and the decay of his government, came into relation with the Sultān by sending presents. The Sultān sent 'Imād ul-Mulk Badah whose name was <sup>1</sup> Āhmad, towards Chanderi, that he, in concert with Bahjat Khān, might have the public prayer read in the Sultān's name in Chanderi and its neighbourhood. After that the Sultān returned from Dholpūr and came to Agra; and by <sup>2</sup> sending *farmāns* containing the good news of the submission of Bahjat Khān, and the reading of the public prayers in his name in the territory of Chanderi, and the gaining of fresh victories, his fame became high in all sides and directions.

At this time the Sultān considered it proper for reasons of State to change and alter the *jāigīrs* of some of the Amīrs. He took the *Sarkar* of Itāwah from Bhīkhan Khān, son of 'Ālam Khān Lodī, and entrusted it to Khizr Khān, his younger brother. In the same way the *jāigīr* of Khwājah Muhammad 'Imād Farmuli was transferred to Khwājah Ahmad, his brother; and *jāigīrs* of other Amīrs in the same way. After that (the Sultān) deputed Sa'id Khān, son of Mubārak Khān Lodī, and Shaikh Jamāl, son of Usmān Farmuli, and

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. has احمد خان; the MSS. have احمد Āhmad and حميد Hamīd. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has احمد. Col. Briggs simply says 'Imād-ul-Mulk.

<sup>2</sup> There are considerable variations in the readings here in the different MSS. I have adopted the reading in which two of the MSS. and the lith. edn. and Ferishtah (lith. edn.), who generally follows the *Tabaqāt* sometimes almost verbatim, agree.

Rāy Jagar sen Kachwāhah and Khizr Khān and Khwājah Ahmad to Chanderi, and they brought that territory into the confines of their possession and acquired great power there; and in accordance with the orders of the Sultān, Shāhzādah Muhammad Khān the <sup>1</sup>grandson of Sultān Nāsir-ud-din Mālwi was interned in the city; and the dominion of that territory was confirmed to him as before, but all the power passed into their hands. As Bahjat Khān saw all these things, he did not consider it advisable to remain there, and came to the Sultān's presence.

At this time the heart of the Sultān turned from Husen Khān Farmuli, the governor of the town of Sāran; and, as a matter of good policy, he sent Hāji Sārang to the place, and having attracted the army of Husen Khān towards himself was thinking of putting him in prison, when he becoming aware of this went with a few of his friends to the country of Lakhnauti, and took shelter with Sultān 'Alā-ud-din, the ruler of Bangālah. At this time 'Ali Khān Nāgori, who had been stationed in the Sūbah of <sup>2</sup>Sui Suir, having formed relations of agreement and union, and engagements and brotherliness with Shāhzādah Daulat Khān, who was the ruler of Ranthambor, and a subject of Sultān Muhammad Mālwi, and by his friendly behaviour persuaded him to submit to the Sultān (Sikandar); and settled that he should surrender the fortress of Ranthambor to the latter. 'Ali Khān sent a representation to the Sultān about this. The latter was very pleased with this good news and resolved to march in that direction and arrived in the neighbourhood of Biānah by successive marches. He spent four months there in travelling about and hunting; and in visits to learned men and Shaikhs. He specially spent his time in the company of Saiyad Na'mat-ul-lah,

<sup>1</sup> The meaning is not quite clear, though one can understand that Shāhzādah Muhammad Khān was kept as a figure head, but all power passed into the Sultān's hands. Ferishtah makes this clear. He says, وایشان انولایت بحیطه تصرف در آورده مستقل گشتند, و حسب الحکم شاهراده محمد خان نبیره سلطان ناصرالدین مالوی را شهر بند کرده سلطنت ان ملک را چنانچه بود ظاهراً is given in the dictionary as meaning city walls or a prison. I have thought it best to translate شهر بند کرده as having interned in the city; as the prince was kept as a figure head, he was not, very likely, actually thrown into prison.

<sup>2</sup> See note 3, p. 380.

and Shaikh <sup>1</sup> 'Abd-ul-lah Husenī who were celebrated for revelations and miracle-working. Verse :

Don't pass the righteous, for at the time of weighing,  
The stone is placed opposite to gold, in the proximity of the  
balance.

In short 'Ali Khān so bewitched Shāhzādah Daulat Khān and his mother, who held authority in the fort of Ranthambor, with many promises that the Shāhzādah came with all quickness to attend on the Sultan. In accordance with the orders of the latter, all the Amirs went forward to receive him, brought him with all honour and respect to the Sultān's presence. The latter treated him with fatherly affection and conferred on him a special robe of honour and some horses and elephants, and asked him to take the trouble of surrendering the fort of Ranthambor, according to the engagements already entered into. It so happened, however, that <sup>2</sup> that very 'Ali Khān acted with hypocrisy, and induced Shāhzādah Daulat Khān not to surrender the fort, and emboldened him to break his promise. The Shāhzādah then evaded surrendering the fort. The Sultān became aware of the duplicity of 'Ali Khān, and transferred the Sarkār of Sut Sut from him to his brother Abū Bakr; and on account of his patience and his natural kindness did not shew any greater disfavour toward 'Ali Khān; and did not also show any displeasure or anger towards the Shāhzādah of Ranthambor.

The Sultān, having composed his mind about the affairs of the territory of Biānah and its neighbourhood, started from there towards <sup>3</sup> Thankar; and from that place he arrived at <sup>4</sup> Bāri and after transfer-

<sup>1</sup> Two of the MSS. call him Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah Husenī, while others call him Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah Al-Husenī. The lith. edn. has Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah Husenī. Badūnī has Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah Husenī. Ferishtah (lith. ed.) has Shaikh Husenī.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. (except one, which omits the word همان before the 'Ali Khān) and the lith. edn. and Ferishtah (lith. edn.) have the word همان before the name of 'Ali Khān.

<sup>3</sup> The MSS. and the lith. edn. have تنکر Thankar and تہکر Thahkar. Badūnī also has تنکر Thankar; Ferishtah has تہانکر Thānkar. According to Col. Ranking, the place is called Thankar, (or, he says, more properly) Bhankar or Thankīr or Thangīr. It was a fortress in the territory of Biānah.

<sup>4</sup> A township in the Sarkār of Agra.

ing that *parganaḥ* from the sons of Mubārak Khān to Shaikhzādah Makan, went to Dholpūr; and from there came to his capital Agra; and according to his ancient custom sent *jarmāns* in all directions, and summoned the amīrs from their governments.

As life has no faith, and sovereignty no permanence, at this time the Sultān contracted an illness, and although on account of his high spirit <sup>1</sup> he thought nothing of it, and in that condition sat in the *dewān* or audience hall and rode about. But gradually the illness became more and more serious, so that even a morsel of food and water did not pass through his throat; and the passage of the spirit became closed. Verse:

In this festive hall, the cup-bearers are so unkind,  
That at the time of joy they hold the poisoned cup!  
Alas for pleasure, with clay they Sikander make,  
The wine of delight from Sanjar's heart-blood they quaff!

On Sunday, the <sup>2</sup>7th of the month of Zi-qādah, 923 A.H. (Jany. 1518 A.D.) he separated from the world. Verse:

Sikandar the ruler of the seven climes liveth not,  
None lives, as Sikandar liveth not.

The period of his rule was 28 years and five months.

As so much has been said in certain histories in praise and glorification of Sultān Sikandar, that a great part of it is suspected to be exaggeration and hyperbole, and only that which was nearest to correctness has been mentioned here. They say that Sultān Sikandar was adorned with personal beauty and decorated with mental perfection. Everything was very cheap in the period of his dominion, and there was peace and security. The Sultān sat everyday in public and was accessible to all seekers after justice; and

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. has از روی غیرت بخود ضعف نمی آورد, owing to his high spirit he did not confess any loss of strength. This makes sense, but all the MSS. have left out the word ضعف weakness or want of strength. Ferishtah in the corresponding passage has, از روی غیرت خیالی بخود راه نداده, i.e. owing to his high spirit he did not allow a thought to enter his mind.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the MSS. and Badāonī has 17th: other MSS. and the lith. edn. and the Tār-i-Dāūdī has 7th. As regards the corresponding month and year of the Christian era Col. Ranking has Jany., 1518, and the translator of the Tār-i-Dāūdī, Nov., 1517.

sometimes from morning till evening and the time of going to sleep he was engaged with matters in dispute, and performed the prayers for the five times (in the day) in one sitting. In the time of his sovereignty the arm of oppression of the Zamindārs of India became short; and they were all obedient and submissive. The strong and the weak were equal. In all affairs justice was administered and on most occasions, he did not run after sensual pleasure, and was extremely God-fearing and kind to the people. On the day on which he had a battle with his brother, Bārbak Shāh, a calender or *darvesh* appeared when the battle was going on, and catching hold of the Sultān's hand said "The victory is thine." The Sultān snatched away his hand roughly. The *darvesh* said "I am giving thee good omen, and bringing thee good news of victory; why dost thou snatch away thy hand?" The Sultān said in reply, that whenever there was war between two parties of Musalmans, the victory should not be predicted for one side, but it should be said that that should happen which would be for the good of <sup>1</sup> Islām; and in victory one should pray to God for whatever should be for the good of the people. <sup>2</sup> Twice every year, he ordered the *faqirs*, and other deserving people of his kingdom, that they should bring a writing in detail (of their needs); and he would send to each one, according to his condition, an amount for the next six months; and whoever came for (military) service, he asked a great deal <sup>3</sup> about the descent of their fathers, and in accordance with that <sup>4</sup> engaged

<sup>1</sup> The readings are different, اسلام, Islām, اهل اسلام, the followers of Islām, and مسلمانان, Musalmānān, Musalmans.

<sup>2</sup> Two of the MSS. have a different reading viz. هر سال دو مرتبه فقرا و مساكين و گوشه نشينان را طلب كرد و جامها و زرہا و ما يكتياج ششماهه ميداد i.e. twice every year he summoned the *faqirs*, and the poor and those who sat in seclusion, and gave them garments and gold and whatever they needed for the six months.

<sup>3</sup> Here also the readings of the MSS. are different, viz. (1) از نسب پدران او about the descent or family of their forefathers, (2) احوال پدران و نسبت او را about the condition of their fathers and their relations; (3) از نسبت پدران او as to the relationship or family of their fathers. A similar passage occurs in the Tār-i-Dāudi (Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 446).

<sup>4</sup> One MS. has علوفه مقرر ميكرد, fixed his allowances.

him (i.e. fixed his emoluments), and without inspecting his horse and his accoutrements, granted him a *jāigīr* and said "Provide your accoutrements from your *jāigīr*."

His faith (bigotry) in Islām was to that extent, that he went beyond the bounds even of excess. He levelled to the ground all the places of worship of the *kāfirs*; and left neither their name nor any vestige of them. In <sup>1</sup> Mathūrah and other places, where there are places for the ablution of the Hindus, he built serais, and bazaars, and mosques, and colleges, and employed men to prevent the Hindus from bathing. If any Hindu wanted to shave his beard or head in Mathūrah, the barber refused to place his hand on his beard or head; and he completely abolished all heathenish practices by public orders. He forbade the annual <sup>2</sup> procession of the lance of Sālār Masa'ūd. He also prohibited the going of women to the tombs of holy men. In his younger days, i.e. when he was still the Shāhzādah he heard that there was a reservoir in Thanessar where Hindus assembled and bathed. He asked the learned men "What is the order of the law of the Prophet in this matter." They said "It is not lawful to lay waste ancient idol temples, and it does not rest with you to prohibit ablution in a reservoir which has been customary from ancient times." The Shāhzādah put his hand on his dagger, and attempted to slay that learned man and said, "You take the side of the heathen." That wise man said "I only say what has come down in the law of the Prophet, and I am not afraid to tell the truth." The Shāhzādah was pacified.

In short, in all his dominions he appointed readers of the Qurān or ministers and preachers and sweepers in all the mosques and fixed stipends and gifts for them. In the winter he sent garments and shawls for *faqirs*; and every Friday he sent a certain amount to

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<sup>1</sup> Bathing in the river, and having their heads shaved are more customary for Hindus in Prayāg (Allahabad) and Benares, than in Mathura or Muthra. (Cf., however, Ell. IV, p. 447.)

<sup>2</sup> Sālār Masa'ūd Ghāzī was a celebrated champion of Islām, who after numberless encounters with the Hindu idolators fell in battle near Bahraich, in 424 A.H. and then gained the title of Sultān-ush-Shuhadā or the prince of martyrs. The prohibition of the procession of his lance shews that Sultān Sikandar was consistent in his opposition to all forms of idolatry, and all attempts to deify human beings.

the *faqīrs* of the city; and every day food uncooked and cooked was distributed in a certain number of places. And <sup>1</sup> every day and on every Friday and twice every year there were rewards specially for *faqīrs* throughout his dominions. On all holy days such as the Ramazān and the first ten days of the Muharram, and on occasions of thanksgivings for victories and other successes, he made the hearts of *faqīrs* and *darveshes* happy. Couplet :

If thou the splendour of greatness hast,  
Take thou the poor men's heart in thy hand !

<sup>2</sup> Learning spread in the country, and the sons of amīrs, and soldiers also devoted themselves to the acquisition of excellences in knowledge. Wealthy men gave to *faqīrs* and deserving people out of their riches, what was in accordance to the law of the Prophet.

It is narrated that at the time when Sultān Bahlol died, and they summoned Sultān Sikandar to take up the empire, and <sup>3</sup> he intended to go away, one day he went out of Dehli to do homage to *Shaikh* Samā'-ud-dīn who was among the holy men of the time, and asked him for a prayer on his behalf. He also said I wish to read the book of <sup>4</sup> *Mizān Sarf* (Arabic grammar) with thee, and made a

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. differ slightly here. One leaves out, *و یومیہ و جمعگی*, daily and on every Friday, and several have the word *مکروسہ* after *ممالک*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Tār-i-Dāūdī*, Elliot, IV, p. 450. It is said there, that the *Argar Mahavedak* or the science of medicine was translated, and received the name of *Tibb-i-Sikandari*. *Argar* is apparently a corruption of *Ārya*. *Mahavedak* may be *Mahāvedah*.

<sup>3</sup> The readings differ, here one MS. has *و او ارادہ رفتن نمود روزی کہ از دہلی* *و او ارادہ رفتن نمود روزی کہ از بزرگان وقت بود بجهت التفات بیرون میرفت بخدمت شیخ سماوالدین کہ از بزرگان وقت بود بجهت التفات رفت*; another has the same with *التماس* instead of *التفات* towards the end. Another omits *نمود رفتن* *و او ارادہ رفتن نمود* and begins *نزد سماو الدین* and *و او ارادہ رفتن نمود* etc.

Another agrees with the first with the exception that it has *در* before *روزی*. The lith. edn. and *Ferishtah* (lith. edn.) have *شیخ بہاء الدین* *Shaikh Bahā'-ud-dīn* instead of *شیخ سماوالدین* *Shaikh Samā'-ud-dīn*.

<sup>4</sup> One of the MSS. and *Ferishtah* in the corresponding passage leaves out the word *صرف*.

The same anecdote is mentioned in *Badāoni* and *Ferishtah*. But the



beginning. When the teacher read in it *إسعدك الله تعالى في دارين* *as'adāk allāh t'āla fī dārāin*, may the most High God make the fortunate in both worlds! the Sultān said 'say it again' and made him repeat it thrice, and then kissing the hand of the holy man, and taking that prayer to be a good omen started. Verse:

The <sup>1</sup> words of the pure and the wise are interpreters of fate,  
 Their minds and their tongues are like tablet and pen,  
 Eternal blessing in their <sup>2</sup> harmony is contained,  
 And ruin eternal, in their <sup>3</sup> enmity concealed.

Every one among the amīrs and the wealthy men who gave stipends and subsistence allowances to the needy and the *faqīrs* gained the confidence of the Sultān; and the latter said, they have laid the foundation of something good, in which there never can be any loss.

He possessed information about the condition of his raiyats and his soldiers, to such a degree, that details of the domestic affairs of men reached him; and sometimes he received information of what happened to men when they were quite alone; so that men suspected that the Sultān had a *jinn* who was intimate with him, and gave him information of what was in the future.

They say that whenever he sent an army to a place, two *farmāns* reached that army everyday, one early in the morning, which directed that they should halt at such a place after the day's march, and another in the afternoon or the end of the day, which said do this and that. There was never any change in this; and post horses were always kept ready on the road. Whenever a *farmān* was sent to an amīr of an outlying district, the latter came out two or three

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former does not say that Sikandar went to the Shaikh and said he wanted to read *Mizān Sarf* with him, but he made his customary daily walk a pretext and asked the Shaikh the meaning of the expression *asa'dak allāh*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> The reading in the MSS. and the lith. edn. is *حديث اهل فنا*, only one MS. has *زبان اهل فنا*. I have not been able to find the meaning of *فنا*. Probably it means the Sufis, one of whose doctrines is that nothing exists except God.

<sup>2</sup> The actual word is *وفاق* which, the dictionary says, means consent, agreement, harmony, good understanding.

<sup>3</sup> The word is *نفاق* which, according to the dictionary, is hypocrisy. I have thought it best to translate it as enmity.

About the sharpness of his intellect and his genius, curious sayings are mentioned. Whatever was nearest the truth, and had the least exaggeration and hyperbole, that only I have ventured to narrate. Once on a time two brothers, who lived in Gwāliar, and who were in great straits and poverty, joined an army which was sent to attack a particular province. When the soldiers were engaged in plundering and destroying, a piece of gold and some pieces of coloured stuffs, and two valuable rubies fell into their hands. One of the two brothers said "our object has been gained, why should we endure more hard-ships; let us go home and live in comfort." The other said, "Ah brother, as at the very first time spoils such as these have fallen into our hands, perhaps on the next occasion, we will get something even better than this." The other said, "I won't go to any other place." Then they divided the spoils. The elder brother gave his share also to the other, so that he might

<sup>1</sup> The word in all the MSS. (except one which has صف) and in the lith. edn. is صفه. I can not find any meaning of صفه or صف which will go with the context. I think some kind of a platform was erected and the bearer of the *farmān* stood on it and the receiver of it below. (Cf. trans. of Tār-i-Dāūdī, Elliot, IV, 448, where it is said that a terrace was erected and the bearer stood on it and the receiver of the *farmān* stood below. It is also said in a note to this passage that this is a Tatār custom and prevails even now in China and some other Eastern countries.

make it over to his wife. That man returned home and made over all the spoils to his brother's wife except the ruby. After two years when his brother returned, and made inquiries, he found no trace of the ruby. He said "what about the ruby." His brother replied "I gave it to your wife." He said "she says it never reached her hand." He replied "she is telling an untruth she should be threatened a little." The man threatened his wife. She said "give me time for this night. I shall produce it tomorrow morning." Early in the morning she went to the house of <sup>1</sup> Miān Bhudah who was one of the great Amīrs and Sultān Sikandar's Chief Justice; and narrated all the circumstances to him. Mian Bhudah ordered her husband to appear with his brother; and when they came, questioned them. The brother of the woman's husband, said "I gave her the ruby also." Miān Bhudah said "Have you got any witness." He replied "yes." He was asked "who is he?" The man replied "they are two Brahmans." The miān said "produce them." The man went to a gambling house and paying something to two gamblers tutored them, as to the way in which they were to bear testimony. The men were dressed in clean garments and brought to the court. After they had given evidence, Miān Bhudah said to the husband of the woman "go and get the rubies from your wife with as much severity as you like." The woman came out of the place, went to the audience hall of the Sultān and prayed for justice. The Sultān called her, and asked her to explain the matter. The woman stated what had happened. The Sultān said "why did you not go to Miān Bhudah." She said "I did go, but he did not enquire as he should have done." The Sultān gave order, and all the parties were produced before him. He summoned all of them separately, gave to the husband of the woman and his brother a bit of wax and ordered that they should mould it in the form of the ruby. They made two exact facsimiles. Then he summoned the witnesses separately and gave them wax. Each of them made a different shape. Every one of the pieces of wax was preserved. The woman was then summoned

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<sup>1</sup> This gentleman's name is given variously in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. as بهورہ، بهورہ، بهورہ. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has بهورہ. Col. Briggs has Meean Bhoory. I can't say whether the name occurs in Badāonī. It does not occur in the very copious index of Col. Ranking's translation.

and the Sultān said to her. "Do you also shape the wax in the form of the ruby?" The woman said "how can I make a thing which I have never seen." Although she was asked repeatedly, she did not agree. Then he addressed Miān Bhudah, and afterwards said to the witnesses, "If you will tell the truth your lives will be spared, but if you will not do so, you will be put to death." They then narrated the facts with truth. The brother of the woman's husband was also summoned, and threatened with condign punishment. He also now gave a truthful version of the incidents. The poor woman was now acquitted of the accusation<sup>1</sup>; and the great penetration and intelligence of the Sultān became patent to all.

He wrote even and simple Persian verse, and his poetical pseudonym was *Gulrukhi*. *Sheikh* Jamāl was one of his courtiers with whom he had much conversation. He wrote the following couplets as a memento of the Sultān:—

My garment is made of the dust of thy lane!  
 That too is wet with the tears of my eyes!  
 My sides are completely plumed with his arrows,  
 Now will I fly to him of the bow-like brow!

<sup>2</sup> They say that once on a time the Sultān after doing his *namāz* was telling his beads. His major-domo was there. The Sultān made a sign to him meaning 'summon.' The major-domo did not understand it; and went out and said to Miān Bhudah. "The Sultān is telling his beads and signed to me to summon. I could not venture to ask him whom should I summon and now I have not the face to return. I can not go and attend on the Sultān; and I also do not know whom I shall take with me." Miān Bhudah asked him "In what direction was the Sultān's face and what was he looking at." He said "towards the door of the newly erected building." Miān Bhudah said "send for the mason and the carpenter and take them with you." The major-domo took the mason and the carpenter. The Sultān knowing that it was strange that he should understand his meaning;

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<sup>1</sup> Two of the MSS. have here, و برادر او را سیاست نموده لعل او را دهانید, i.e. and having punished her (should be her husband's) brother caused the ruby to be given to her.

<sup>2</sup> The whole of what follows is to be found in only one MS. and in the lith. edn. but not in the other MSS.

enquired "how did you know that I wanted these men?" The major-domo, replied "Miān Bhudah told me." The faith of the Sultān in Miān Bhudah's intelligence became stronger.

It is narrated that once on a time Sultān Sikandar said to Miān Bhudah who was his chief Judge and Vazīr "Frequently in my kingdom much<sup>1</sup> corruption occurs among my officers, and is the cause of the ruin of my subjects. My noble mind is frequently very anxious about it. If any remedy for it comes into your mind it would be a very good thing." Miān Bhudah represented to him. "It is very easy to remedy corruption, and it is this that your Majesty should hold one end of the chain, and give the other end to your slave and there will never be any more corruption. And in fact whenever any one is appointed to perform any service, he must be free from avarice, otherwise corruption will not be eradicated."

SULTĀN IBRĀHĪM, SON OF SULTĀN SIKANDAR,  
SON OF SULTĀN BAHLOL LODI.

When Sultān Sikandar was united with the mercy of God, the high mighty and honoured position of the *saltanat* was settled with the consent of the Amīrs and the great officers of state on his<sup>2</sup> eldest son

<sup>1</sup> The word which I have translated as corruption appears to be ملبه Malbah. I have not been able to find the word in any dictionary and have translated it by the word corruption, as being most suited to the context.

<sup>2</sup> He was certainly not the eldest son. Sultān Sikandar's sons according to seniority of age were A'zam Humāyūn, Jalāl, Ibrāhīm, Ismael and Husen. According to the *Tār-i-Salātin Afghāna* (Elliot, V, p. 7), the reason of his selection appears to have been this. Sultān Sikandar left two sons by one wife, Ibrāhīm and Jalāl. When the former grew up he became celebrated for his personal beauty and excellent disposition and the nobles determined to place him on the throne, to which he was raised on the 7th Zil-hijjah, 923 A.H. (Nov., 1517). As we have seen, however, Sultān Sikandar died on the 7th Zilqādah, so the date given above is probably incorrect. The translator of the *Tār-i-S.A.* says in a note that the date of Sultān Ibrāhīm's accession according to the *M-i-A. Tār-i-K.J.L.* was the 8th Zilqādah which is doubtless the correct date. Apparently the mothers of Sultān Sikandar's other sons were of inferior rank; and therefore Ibrāhīm and Jalāl succeeded him the former at Dehli and the latter for a time at Jaunpūr. The *Tār-i-Dāudī* (Ell., IV, p. 451) however gives a different list of Sultān Sikandar's sons. According to it they were six, in the following order of seniority, Ibrāhīm Khān, Jalāl Khān, Ismael Khān, Husen Khān, Mahmūd Khān and A'zam Humāyūn.

Sultān Ibrāhīm, who was known and celebrated for the beauty of his intelligence and penetration, and his courage and praiseworthy moral qualities. <sup>1</sup> But because soldiers, and specially men of war and action, have for the sake of the proper arrangement of their affairs and the reputation and grandeur of their service and command, and the greatness of their retainers and equipages, always directed all their plans and endeavours to this, that the rule of government in the kingdom, and the passing of orders from a well established throne should not have great power and complete predominance, for this reason they decided that Sultān Ibrāhīm should sit on the throne at Dehlī, and his rule should extend to the boundary of the kingdom of Jaunpūr; and that Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān should set on the *Masnad* of *Saltanat* at Jaunpūr, and should govern the territories on that side. But they did not know that sovereignty cannot be carried on in partnership, and two swords cannot be put into one scabbard. Couplet :

Two lives can never in one body exist ;  
Nor two kings in one kingdom rule.

In short Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān, turned towards Jaunpūr with the Amirs and the *Jāigīrdārs* of the *parganas* appertaining to it, and

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<sup>1</sup> The reason given in the text for the establishment of a separate kingdom in Jaunpūr does not appear to be at all convincing, and apparently the author had to write a long-winded and involved sentence because he knew that his account was not at all convincing. Badāonī gives no reason whatever. The extracts from other histories in Elliot, are also silent. The *Tār-i-S.A.* (Elliot, V, p. 7) says the nobles and pillars of the state then gave Ibrāhīm's brother by the same mother, the title of Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn and sent him with many officers and a large army to take charge of the kingdom of Jaunpūr; but gives no reason whatever for this action on their part. The only satisfactory reason is to be found in *Ferishtah*, according to whom, Ibrāhīm gave great umbrage to the great Lodi and other Afghān Chiefs by declaring immediately after his accession, that there should be no distinction among officers, whether of his own tribe or otherwise, and by saying publicly that kings should have no relations, or clansmen; but that all should be considered as subjects and servants of the state and the Afghān Chiefs, who had hitherto been allowed to sit in the presence were constrained to stand in front of the throne, with their hands crossed before them. So they conspired together and leaving Ibrāhīm in possession of Delhī and a few dependant provinces raised Jalāl Khān on the throne of Jaunpūr. (See Brigg's *Ferishtah*, Vol. I, pp. 590-91.)

being firmly seated on the throne of that kingdom, appointed A'zam Humāyūn Sharwānī to be his agent and minister (*vakil wa peshwā*). At this time Khān Jahān Lohānī came from Rāpūr to the court of Sultān Ibrāhīm, and spoke with rebuke and derision to the Vazirs and Vakils, and said that it was a great error, and a manifest blunder to have a divided sovereignty and rule; and<sup>1</sup> the acceptance of this appeared to be remote from wisdom. At last the officers of State endeavouring to remedy it (i.e. their own error) thought it advisable, that as up to that time Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān had not acquired power and stability, he should be summoned to Dehli. They sent Haibat Khān<sup>2</sup> Gurg-andāz to summon him; and a *farmān* couched in gracious and kind language was sent to the effect, that a matter of importance had to be discussed, and that he should come with a light retinue, by forced marches. When Haibat Khān, arrived at the court of the Shāhzādah, although he tried various forms of coaxing and flattery and deception, the Shāhzādah's suspicion of their deception and treachery became all the stronger and he did not consent to return; and giving<sup>3</sup> soft replies, passed the time by employing tricks and evasions. Haibat Khān sent a representation to the Sultān explaining all this. The Sultān sent<sup>4</sup> Shāikhzādah Muhammad, son of Sheikh Sa'id Farmūli, and Malik Isma'īl, son of Malik 'Alā-ud-dīn Jilwānī and Qāzi Majd-ud-dīn Hejāb (chamberlain). Their blandishments had no effect also, and the Shāhzādah did not return. After that, after consultation with the wise men and the philosophers of the age, *farmāns* were sent to the

<sup>1</sup> This clause appears to be incorrect. It is given in the MSS. (except one which substitutes عقل wisdom for عَقْل wise men which I certainly consider better and have adopted) as وَ قَبُولِ اِيْنَعْنِي اِزْ عَقْلَا (عَقْل) دَوْر نَمُوْد.

<sup>2</sup> The circumstances under which Haibat Khān slew two wolves with one arrow from his bow and which earned him this honorary surname is given in the Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot, V, p. 33.)

<sup>3</sup> All the MSS. (except one which has ناملایم *harah*) and Ferishtah, who follows the Tabaqāt pretty closely, have مَلایم soft.

<sup>4</sup> There are slight differences in the names of the emissaries. One MS. and the lith. edn. has مَقْبِل after حِجَاب one MS. calls اسمعیل پسر ملک and the lith. edn. has مَقْبِل after حِجَاب one MS. calls اسمعیل پسر ملک. Ferishtah adds the name of سعید حِجَاب Sa'id Hijāb after the other names.

Amirs and rulers of those territories; and to each one of these a separate purport, and favour and a different hint and suggestion, suited to his rank and condition and hereditary status was indicated. The purport of these *farmāns* was this, that they should abstain and refrain from allegiance to and association with Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān, should not attend at his court, and should not accept service under him. To some of the Amirs who had large forces in those parts and had thirty and forty thousand retainers, such as Dariyā Khān Lohāni, ruler of the province of Behar, and Nasir Khān ruler of Ghāzilpūr, and Shāikhzadah Muhammad Farmult, who held Oudh, and <sup>1</sup> Lakhnau, and others, a special trusted agent was sent with a special robe of honour and a horse and other <sup>2</sup> favours. When these *farmāns* reached them, they all turned from their allegiance to the Shāhzādah and became hostile to him.

At this time the <sup>3</sup> Sultān had a throne placed in the *Dewān-khānah*, adorned and encrusted with fine gems. He sat on it on Friday, the 15th of the month of Zilhijjah, in the year 923 A.H. (1517 A.D.) and held a great court. He conferred on the servants of the palace, and the officers of state and all military officers, robes of honour, and belts for swords and for daggers, and horses and elephants and high offices and ranks, and *Jāigīrs* (fiefs) according to the rank and status of each. Verse:

If thou wouldst power and greatness and honour have,  
 Make captive the hearts of thy friends with favours and grace.  
 By that did Kāūs gain mastery over his foes,  
 That he a Rustam had his behests to do.  
 Make thy soldier in battle strong by favours great,  
 For e'en a lion <sup>4</sup> falls, in battle with a slayer of men.

<sup>1</sup> Two of the MSS. and the lith. edn. has لکھنوتی Lakhnautī, and one MS. has لکھنور. لکھنو is the correct reading. Ferishtah has لکھنو.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishtah has کمر خنجر, belt with dagger, among the presents in addition to the robe of honour and the horse.

<sup>3</sup> It is curious that according to the Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot V, p. 9) Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān did exactly similar things on the same date. I wonder whether the translator has by mistake attributed Ibrāhīm's doings to Jalāl.

<sup>4</sup> All the MSS. have اید پلنگ, a lion comes, which does not make sense. The lith. edn. has امتد پلنگ, a lion falls, which I have adopted.



And he cast anew <sup>1</sup> rings of obedience in their ears ; and made them bound and grateful to him afresh by favours and kindnesses. He made the great and the common people pleased and conformable to him. He opened the doors of beneficence on *faqīrs*, and the poor, and increased their subsistence allowances, and stipends and gratuities and grants, and sent offerings and presents to those who sat in seclusion, and placed their reliance on God. He conferred new glory to the acts of greatness and sovereignty ; and the affairs of state became stronger and more stable.

<sup>2</sup> When Shāhzadah Jalāl Khān saw these acts of the Sultān, and the hostility of the *amīrs* of those districts, he left Jaunpūr and came to Kālpi, and knew that there was no time now left for negotiation and evasion with Sultān Ibrāhīm, and publicly assumed an attitude of hostility, and in consultation with those who were united with him, gave up all hope of the territory of Jaunpūr, and establishing himself at Kālpi, had the Khutbah (public prayer) and Sikkah (coins) in his own name, and assumed the title of Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn and devoted himself to the task of looking after his retainers and soldiers and the improvement of his accoutrements, and gun factories, and the pacification of the Rājās and Zamindārs of the surrounding parganas, and became stronger and more powerful. He then advanced towards 'Āzam Humāyūn <sup>3</sup> Sarwānī, who with a large force was besieging the fort of 'Kālīnjar ; and sent men to him with the following message : " You are like a father or an uncle to me, and you know that I have committed no fault, and the breach of promise has been from the side of Sultān Ibrāhīm. The small portion of territory and wealth

which he had decided to allot to me as my inheritance, on that also he has shut his eyes; and has torn asunder the tie of alliance, and broken the bond of affection; it behoves you that you should not abandon the side of justice, and should help the oppressed party." As in fact A'zam Humāyūn had ill-feeling towards Sultān Ibrāhīm, and the poverty and broken fortunes, and softness of Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn had affected him, and also as he saw that he had not the power to fight with and oppose the Shāhzādah (i.e. Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn), he gave up the siege of the fort of Kālīnjar and hastened to attend on Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn. After strong engagements and promises, they decided, that they should first obtain possession of the territory of Jaunpūr and the adjoining districts, and then think of other things. In conformity with this resolution, they advanced by forced marches against Sa'id Khān, son of Mubārak Khān Lodī, who held the province of Oudh. He not being able to withstand them, withdrew to Lakhnau, and sent a representation containing a true account of the state of affairs to Sultān Ibrāhīm.

Sultān Ibrāhīm determined that he should with some chosen troops proceed to crush this revolt. At this time, in consultation with his well-wishers, he ordered that some of his <sup>1</sup> brothers who had been imprisoned, such as Shāhzādah Isma'il Khān and Husen Khān, and Mahmūd Khān, and Shāhzādah Sheikh Daulāt Khān should be conveyed to the fort of Hānsī, and should be kept well-guarded there; and for attendance on each of these, two <sup>2</sup> trustworthy servants

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the MSS. have برادران و خودشان brothers and relatives Badāonī only names Isma'il Khān and Husen Khān and adds others. Ferishtah in the lith. edn., which I have, copies the Tabaqāt closely, but when he comes to the names he says that Isma'il Khān, Husen Khān and Mahmūd Khān were made over to Daulat Khān. Col. Briggs says generally that Ibrāhīm confined his other brothers in the fort of Hānsī. On further consideration I think that Ferishtah may be right, though the sentence is not quite complete in any of the MSS. or in the lith. edn. If this view is correct then the translation would be "He ordered Shāhzādah Shaikh Daulat Khān that he should convey some of his (that is the Sultān's) brothers who had been imprisoned, such as Shāhzādah Isma'il Khān, etc., to the fort of Hānsī and keep them well-guarded there."

<sup>2</sup> The word used in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. and in Ferishtah is حرم. Badāonī has دو دو خدمتگزار از اهل حرم, which Col. Ranking translates 'two servants from the private establishment.' I prefer two servants from his harem or seraglio.

were appointed, and also fixed allowances for their food and garments and other necessities. On Thursday the 24th of the month of Zi-hijjah 923 A.H. (6th February 1518 A.D.) the Sultan's standards turned towards the east and by forced marches the army reached Bhongāon. From that place it started towards Kanauj. On the way news came that Ā'zam Humāyūn with his wise son Fateh Khān had turned his face from Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān, and was coming to attend on the Sultān. This good news gave great courage and strength of heart to the Sultan. When Ā'zam Humāyūn arrived near, Sultān Ibrāhīm sent most of the Amīrs to welcome him, and highly exalted him with royal favours.

At this time <sup>1</sup> Mānchand, Zamindār of Jartoli, one of the dependencies of pargana Kol which is a celebrated <sup>2</sup> Mawās, had fought with 'Umar, son of Sikandar Sūr and had raised him to martyrdom (i.e. slain him); and Malik Qāsīm, governor of Sambal, who had attacked and defeated and slain that rebel, and had thus put an end to this unforeseen disturbance, came to Kanauj, where the Sultān was encamped, and offered him his services. Most of the Amīrs and *Jāigīrdārs* of Jaunpūr such as Sa'īd Khān, and others came to attend on the Sultān and were enrolled in the band of his well-wishers. At this time (the Sultān) deputed Ā'zam Humāyūn Sarwānī and <sup>3</sup> Ā'zam Humāyūn Lodi and Nasīr Khān Lohānī and others with an immense army and elephants of <sup>4</sup> gigantic size against Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān. The latter was at this time at Kālpī. Before the above-named Amīrs could arrive there, he left N'amat Khātun and the followers of Qutb Khān Lodi, and 'Imād-ul-Mulk, and Malik Badr-ud-dīn and his dependents with a body of men in the fort of Kālpī, and himself turned towards the metropolis of Agra with thirty thousand horsemen and some elephants. The army of Sultān Ibrāhīm besieged Kālpī and some days were spent in

<sup>1</sup> This name is given as خان, Khān, خانچند, Khānchand, مانچند, Mānchand and مالچند, Mālchand in the MSS. and the lith. edn. Ferishtah has جیچند Jaichand. The *Tār-i-K.J.L.* (Elliot, V, p. 104) does not give any names but says a body of the Zamindārs of Jartoli.

<sup>2</sup> Mawās is a district in the Doāb.

<sup>3</sup> Ferishtah calls him Az'am Khān Lodi.

<sup>4</sup> The actual word used is اُردما بیکو, of the size of great serpents.

warfare with cannon and muskets. At last the garrison found itself too weak to oppose the Sultān's forces, and the fort was captured by the latter. The city was ravaged and much plunder fell into the hands of the soldiers.

The Sultān sent with great quickness <sup>1</sup> Malik Ādam with a well-equipped army to defend Agra. Shāh-zādah Jalāl Khān reached the neighbourhood of Agra, and wanted in revenge of Kālpi to ravage Agra. At this time Malik Ādam arrived in Agra, and having softened Jalāl Khān with sweet words, which were agreeable to his disposition, persuaded him to keep the sack of Agra in suspense, till Malik Ismael, son of 'Ala-ud-din Jilwani, and Kabir Khān Lodi and Bahār Khān Lohani and some other amirs with a large army arrived, following at his heels and Malik Ādam gained much strength. <sup>2</sup> After that he sent a message to Jalāl Khān, that giving up all absurd desires and ambitions, he should resign the Chatar (royal umbrella), Aftābgir (sun-umbrella) naubat (large kettle drum) and Naqqarah (kettle drum) and other marks and paraphernalia of royalty, and conduct himself like the amirs, so that he (Malik Ādam) may make a representation to the Sultan, for pardoning his error; and the *Sarkār* of Kalpi may as before remain as his *Jāiqir*. Jalāl Khān having agreed to these conditions gave up the paraphernalia of royalty. Couplet :

None can, with bragging, take his seat on the seats of the great.  
Till he has got all the necessaries of greatness ready.

Malik Ādam took charge of the royal umbrella, and the sun umbrella and the kettle drum, and sent them to the Sultān, who had returned from Kanouj and arrived in Itāwah. The things with

<sup>1</sup> He is called Malik Ādam in all the MSS. and in the lith. edn. and in Ferishtah, but Badāonī calls him Malik Ādam Kākar. He is also called Malik Ādam Kākar in the *Tār-i-Salatīn-i-Afghana* (Elliot, V, p. 11) though the translator in the text calls him Malik Ādam Ghakkar, but says in a note that it is there written as Kākar.

<sup>2</sup> All this agrees with the *Tār-i-S.A.* (Elliot, V, p. 12). The English equivalents of Aftābgir and Naubat are not given. The author of the *Tār-i-S.A.* says that Jalāl Khān like a coward agreed to the conditions, although his chiefs tried to dissuade him, and pointed out the probable evil consequences of his action. Badāonī and Ferishtah also agree, the latter almost verbatim.

Malik Ādam's representation was produced before him, but he did not agree to the proposed treaty with Jalāl Khān and directed his attention to the destruction of Jalāl Khān. The latter, on hearing this news, took shelter with the Rājā of Gwālīār.

The Sultān remained in Agra, and the affairs of State which after the death of Sultān Sikandar had been shaken, became stable and firm. The amīrs who had been hostile, asked for pardon, and returned loyally to their allegiance. After that <sup>1</sup>Haibat Khān Gurg-āndāz and Karimdād Taugh and Daulat Khān Indar were sent to look after and guard Dehlī; and <sup>2</sup>Shaikhzādah Manjhu was appointed to take charge of and protect the fort of Chanderī and to be the Peshwa (guardian or minister) of Shāhzādah Muḥammad Khān, grandson of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mālwi.

In course of time the heart of the <sup>3</sup>Sultān turned from Mīan Bhudah, who had been one of the great Amīrs and the *Vazīr* of Sultān Sikandar, but who confident of his former services, began to neglect to seek for the wishes of the Sultān, till things came to such a point that he was imprisoned and put in chains, and placed in charge of

<sup>1</sup> These names are not to be found in Badāonī, who does not mention anybody having been sent to guard Dehlī and Chanderī. The *Tār-i-S.A.* says Karimdūd Khān Tāgh with other 'umara were sent to take charge of Dehlī. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) gives the same names as in the text, only he calls Daulat Khān Indar, Daulat Khān Indarāya. About this last name the MSS. vary. One and the lith. edn. has Indar. Another has ایدار, Aidār, while the others omit Daulat Khān and add a دار dār to Tāgh. Col. Briggs says two nobles Karimdād Khān Tarak and Daulat Khān were sent to take charge of Dehlī.

<sup>2</sup> This name does not occur in Badāunī or in the *Tār-i-S.A.* Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has Sheikh Maehhu but as all the MSS. and the lith. edn. of the *Tabaqāt* has Shaikhzādah Manjhu. I have retained that name. Col. Briggs calls him Shaikhzādah Muhammad Farmulī.

<sup>3</sup> The reason of the Sultān's displeasure against his father's *Vazīr*, as given by our author, was that the latter confident of his former services, did not care to seek for and act according to his wishes. In this Ferishtah follows him Badāonī gives no reason whatever. The *Tār-i-S.A.* (Elliot, V, p. 13) gives a different reason. He says that after the conquest of Gwālīār, the Sultān became very proud and began to maltreat and punish the nobles of his father, and he imprisoned Mīan Bhudah, who had for twenty-eight years been the absolute minister of his father.

Malik Ādam. The Sultān however pardoned his son and conferring honours on him put him in his father's position. <sup>1</sup> Miān Bhudah died while he was still in prison.

At this time it entered the mind of the Sultān that as Sultān Sikandar had always intended to conquer Gwālīār, and the remaining fortresses and cities of those districts, and repeatedly led his armies, but had never succeeded in gaining his object, if good fortune guided him and victory led him, he might, with kinglike determination, conquer Gwālīār and all the territories appertaining to it. With this object he sent Ā'zām Humāyūn Sarwānī, the governor of the districts of Karra with thirty thousand horsemen and three hundred elephants to conquer Gwālīār. When Ā'zam Humāyūn reached the neighbourhood of Gwālīār, Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān leaving that place went towards Mālwa <sup>2</sup> to Sultān Mahmūd. About this time <sup>3</sup> Bhikhan Khān, son of 'Ālam Khān Lodī, and Jalāl Khān Lodī, and Suleimān Farmulī, and Bahādur Khān Lohānī and Bahādur Khān Sarwānī, and Isma'el, son of Malik Firoz Aghwān, and Khizr Khān Lohānī, and Khizr Khān, brother of Bhikhan Khān Lodī and Khān-i-Jahān, were deputed with an immense army

<sup>1</sup> The Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot, Vol. V, p. 14) has a story about Miān Bhudah and Islām Khān and some other amīrs. They were asked by the Sultān to go into a room and have a consultation there. They did so without any suspicion but the vault under the room had been filled with gunpowder; and they were all blown up and were scattered as leaves of trees in a gale of wind. The translator says in a note that this barbarous gun powder plot is not mentioned by any other historian, but he says that Miān Bhudah and some other nobles were in the end privately assassinated. In support of his statement he says that the author of the Tār-i-D. contradicts himself, saying in one place that he died in prison and in another that he was murdered. I have not seen any passage which says that he was murdered, though it is quite possible that he was.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn., with minor verbal differences the Tār-i-S.A. and Ferishtah agree in this. Ferishtah however, calls the King of Mālwa Sultān Mahmūd Khilji.

<sup>3</sup> These names occur, with minor differences, in all the MSS. and in the lith. edn. I have not found them in any other history. Even Ferishtah who generally gives details which are not to be found elsewhere confines himself with *و متعاقب او هشت نفر از امرای عمده با لشکر عظیم و چند زنجیر نیل بکمک* and *او تعیین کرد* i.e., and after him (the Sultān) appointed eight of the chief nobles with a great army and some elephants to re-inforce him.

and some elephants to reinforce Ā'zam Humāyūm, and to besiege Gwālīār and conquer that territory. It so happened that at this time Rājā Mān, the ruler of Gwālīār, who had been distinguished above all his peers and neighbours for bravery and liberality, and had contended for years with the Sultāns of Delhī, <sup>1</sup> had died and his son Rāy <sup>2</sup> Bikramājīt having succeeded him had made great exertions in strengthening the fortress. The Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm in accordance with his orders had erected a palace and every day assembled there, and attended to all matters of importance and made all efforts and endeavours to carry on the siege. It so happened, however, that Rājā Mān <sup>3</sup> had erected a lofty building below the fort which surrounded the latter and was very strong, and was called <sup>4</sup> Bādalgārh. After a considerable time, the Sultān's soldiers excavated mines and filled them with gun-powder and set fire to it, and the walls of the fort having been blown down, they entered it, and that place was conquered. At that place they found a <sup>5</sup> brazen bull, which the Hindus had for years worshipped. In accordance with the

<sup>1</sup> The author of the Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot, V, p. 13) speaking of the death of Rājā Mān "says had departed to the infernal regions." The translator says in a note that the mode of expression, however common, sounds more than usually ungracious and intolerant in this particular instance, as the Makhzan-i-Afghānī, (MS., p. 130) and the Tār-i-K.J.L. (MS., p. 144) represent Rājā Mān as only externally a Hindu and in heart inclined towards Islām. Not having access to the MSS. referred to I cannot say whether this view of Rājā Mān's religious views is correct, but he appears by all accounts to have been a brave and generous ruler. Ferishtah merely paraphrases the Tabaqāt, one MS. of Badāoni has گذشتن, passing away, and the text کشتن, slaying, in respect of the death of Rājā Mān.

<sup>2</sup> A corrupt form of the Sanskrit Vikramāditya.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning is not very clear. The passage runs اتفاقاً در زیر قلعه راجه مان عمارت ساخته بر دوران قلعه متین پرداخته است حکام داده مسمی بادل گره گردانیده بود. There are some slight differences in the readings, but the above may be taken as correct.

<sup>4</sup> Col. Ranking says that this Bādalgārh should be distinguished from another fort of the same name. On looking up his reference I find that the other fort was not Bādalgārh but Badalgārh, and is merely another name of the citadel of Agra.

<sup>5</sup> The translator of the Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot, Vol. V, p. 13) calls it a copper bull out of whose mouth a voice issued (!) and that it was carried to the

orders of the Sultān that brazen bull was taken to Dehli, and placed at the Bāghdād gate. Up to the reign of the Hazrat Khalifah Ilāhī (the emperor Akbar) that bull was at the gate of Dehli. The writer of this history has seen it

In short, at that time Sultān Ibrāhīm lost all faith in the old amīrs of his father, and he imprisoned most of the great Khāns (nobles). At this time also, Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān who had gone from Gwāliār to Sultān Mahmūd Mālwi, but not having received proper treatment from him, had fled from him; and gone to the country of <sup>1</sup>Kara Katinka and there he was taken prisoner by a band of Gonds. They sent him under guard to Sultān Ibrāhīm. The latter sent him to the fort of Hānsī, and on the way he was sent to martyrdom. Verse:

The *sharbat* of power and pomp is so sweet,  
That kings thirsting for it, shed their brother's blood;  
Don't for power shed the blood of the heart-broken;  
For thee, the same draught into the cup, they will pour.

After some time Ā'zam Humāyūn Sarwānī and his son Faleh Khān, who were besieging Gwāliār, and had nearly captured the fort, came to Agra in compliance with the order of the Sultān and the latter ordered them to be imprisoned. On account of this Islām Khān, the son of Ā'zam Humāyūn, who was in Karaḥ having revolted, took possession of the property and equipage of his father; and refusing to give possession to Āhmad Khān who had been appointed to be the administrator of that place, commenced enlisting troops and collecting a force. Āhmad Khān fought with him and was defeated. Sultān Ibrahim hearing this, wanted to remedy this and send an army; when all of a sudden Ā'zam Humāyūn and

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fort of Agra where it remained until the time of the Emperor Akbar, who caused it to be melted down for the purpose of making cannon. Badāoni text has *صورتی روغن* a brazen figure, but both MSS. A and B have *سنوری روغن* a brazen animal. Col. Ranking instead of quoting the Tabāqat about this, quotes Ferishtah who only gives a paraphrase of the former. Badāoni and Ferishtah however adds one new fact namely that the bull was sent by the Amīrs to Agra, and was thence sent by the Sultān to Delhi.

<sup>1</sup> The name is so given in several of the MSS. and in the lith. edn. In other MSS. the name is not quite distinctly written. Badāonī has Kara Kankah. The Tār-i-S.A. has Garra Kantak. Ferishtah has Rājah Garh.



Sa'id Khān Lodī, who were among the great nobles fled from his (i.e., the Sultān's) army, and went to Lucknow, which was their *Jāigīr*, and began to fan the flame of rebellion and disturbance. Sultān Ibrāhīm deputed <sup>1</sup> Āhmad Khān brother of Ā'zam Humāyūn Lodī, and the sons of Husen Farmulī and Majlis 'Alī Shaikhzādah Muhammad Farmulī, 'Alī Khān Khān-i-Khānan Farmulī, and Majlis 'Alī Bhikhārī Farmulī, and Dilawar Khān, son of Āhmad Khān, and Sārang Khān, and Qutb Khān, son of Ghāzī Khān Jalwānī and Bhikhān Khān Lohānī, and Sikandar son of Ādam Kākar and others like them with an enormous army to attack them. When they reached the neighbourhood of the town of Bāngarmau, near Kanouj, Iqbāl Khān <sup>2</sup> belonging to the tribe of Ā'zam Humāyūn Lodī with 5,000 horsemen and some elephants came suddenly out of ambush, fell on them and having wounded and killed a large number and put the army in great disorder, left.

When this news reached the Sultān, he wrote many words of reproach to the Amīrs, and sent orders to them, that as long as they would not recover that territory from the possession of the rebels, they would be in the ranks of the accursed and the rejected; and as a matter of precaution sent another body of Amīrs and Khāns with an immense army to reinforce them. On the side of the rebels, also, there were collected 40,000 well-armed horsemen and 500 elephants. When the two sides approached each other and the battle was about to commence, Shaikh <sup>3</sup> Rajū Bukhārī who was the

<sup>1</sup> There are some differences about these names in the different MSS. and in the lith. edn. I have taken what appeared to me to be a correct list. It is very curious that some of the names are extremely hybrid such as Majlis 'Alī Bhikhārī Farmulī and Bhikan Khān Lohānī. No other historian, as far as I know, has given these names. Badāonī says Sultān Ibrāhīm despatched Ahmad Khān, brother Ā'zam Humāyūn Lodī, in command of a vast army. The Tār-i-S.A. only says that the Sultān despatched another army. Ferishtah, who is generally so prolific in details, says merely *دیگر لشکر بمک ایشان فرستاد*, i.e. sent another army to reinforce them.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. say *خاصہ خیل*. Badāonī says *خاص خیل*. Col. Ranking calls him the chief cavalry commander under Ā'zam Humāyūn. Ferishtah calls him *غلام*, slave, of Ā'zam Humāyūn Lodī. Some of the MSS. and the lith. edn. have omitted Ā'zan before Humāyūn Lodī.

<sup>3</sup> One or two of the MSS. the lith. edn. and Ferishtah (lith. edn.) call him

chief or leader of that age came between, and stopping the two sides sought to guide the rebels with lofty precepts, and noble sermons. They, after making many excuses, submitted that if the Sultān would release Ā'zam Humāyūn Sarwānī, they would withhold their hands from his dominions and from hostility against him, and would go away to some other kingdom. When this proposal reached the Sultān, it did not meet with his approval, and he sent orders to Dariyā Khān Lohānī, the governor of Behār and Nasīr Khān Lohānī and Shaikhzādah Muhammad Farmulī, that they should advance from that direction against the rebels, and put down the rebellion.

When those troops arrived from that direction, the rebels, in their pride, felt no anxiety about the greatness of the Sultān's destiny, and the strength of his army, and began the battle; and the well-arranged troops of the two sides met in dire conflict, and shed such streams of blood, that the eye of the age become blind and dark on beholding it. At last as the result of revolt and <sup>1</sup>ingratitude is evil, and is never of good omen Islām Khān the rebel was slain; and Said Khān Lodi was taken prisoner by the troops of Dariyā Khān Lohānī. The revolt was crushed and the wealth and the territory of the rebels all came into the possession of Sultān Ibrāhīm. Verse:

Do not like clouds be thou to thy benefactor ingrate;

They get their riches from the sea and yet shoot arrows at  
its breast.

Even like the river, make gratitude thy habit,

It gives to the cloud an ocean without getting a drop of rain.

The Sultān on hearing this news was very much elated.<sup>2</sup> But as a matter of fact, as the hatred for the Amirs had not left the heart

شیخ راجوی بخاری. Bādāonī does not mention him or his intervention. The Tār-i-S.A. calls him Shaikh Rājū.

<sup>1</sup> All the historians, Bādāonī, the author of the Tar-i-S.A. as well as our author moralise about the ingratitude of the rebels, but they have no word of reproach for the tyranny and barbarity of the Sultān. Ferishtah as usual copies the Tabaqāt almost word for word.

<sup>2</sup> The Tabaqāt and Bādāonī and Ferishtah agree mainly but the Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot, Vol. V, p. 16) contains an account of a battle between the Rajputs under Rānā Sānkā and the Sultān's troops under Miān Mākhan whom he had appointed commander-in-chief superseding older and braver commanders. It also gives a circumstantial account of the murder of Ā'zam Humāyūn. It also

of the Sultān, and the disagreement of his disposition with the Amīrs, and their open and concealed hostility for him had gone beyond all limit, and many of the amīrs and Maliks such Miān Bhudah, and Āzam Humāyūn Sarwānī, who was the Amīr-ul-Umara, had died while under imprisonment by order of the Sultān. Daryā Khān Lohānī, governor of Behar, and Khān Jahān Lodī, and Miān Hasan Farmulī, and others, like them, from the fear and trepidation, which had overwhelmed them, turned their heads from allegiance to the Sultān, and raised the standard of hostility. It so happened, that at this time, Mian Husen Farmulī was killed at Chanderi by some low Shaikh-zādahs of that place, at the instigation of the Sultān; and this became a more serious cause of the hatred of the Amīrs for the Sultān.

After some time Daryā Khān Lohānī died, and his son Bahādur Khān, turning from the Sultān, and <sup>1</sup> having determined to follow a particular course, sat in his father's place; and the Amīrs who had revolted from the Sultān, joined him, and they collected about a *lakh* of horsemen in the territory of Behār and took possession of that country as far as Sambal, and assuming the title of Sultān Muhammad had his name inserted in the public prayer and in the coins he caused to be struck. At this time Nasir Khān Lohānī, the governor of Ghāzīpūr being defeated by the Sultāns' troops went to him; and for <sup>2</sup> some months in the territory of Behār and its dependencies, public prayers were read in his name; and during this time he fought several battles with the troops of the Sultān, and shewed himself to be his equal.

It so happened that <sup>3</sup> the son of Daulat Khān Lodī, came from

says that the murderers of Miān Husen Farmulī or as he is there called Husen Khān were rewarded with 700 gold pieces and ten villages in Inām. The Tār-i-S.A. also calls the son of Daryā Khān Lohānī Shāhbāz Khān. It appears from a note to the translation of this history (Elliot, V, p. 22) that some historians call him Bihār Khān, but he is more generally called Bahādur Khān.

<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. have *يکرويه شده* which literally means having turned his face in one direction. I think I have succeeded in conveying the meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says *چند گاه* for sometime. According to a note to the trans. of the Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot, V, p. 22) the Wāiqāt-i-Mushtāqi says that *khutbah* was read in his name for two years and some months.

<sup>3</sup> The Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot, Vol. V, p. 23) says that he was Daulat Khān's youngest son and his name was Dilāwar Khān. It goes on to say that

Lahore to attend on the Sultān. But he became suspicious of the latter and fled to his father. As Daulat Khān did not see that he could in any way escape from the wrath of the Sultān and severe punishment, he went to Kābul and sought the protection of Hazrat Firdus Makānī (His majesty the Dweller in Paradise) Bābar Bādshāh and brought the latter to invade India. On the way Daulat Khān died, and in Behar, Sultān Muhammad also died. Although the requisites for the conquest of Hindustān, and the necessary counsels and plans were all arranged, His majesty the Bādshāh mainly relying on the help of God fought with Sultān Ibrāhīm in the vicinity of Pānīpat, and the latter was defeated; and he and a number of the amīrs were slain on the field of battle. The sovereignty of Hindustān passed away from the dynasty of the Lodī Afghans to this auspicious family. The reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm extended over 7 years and a few months.

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Daulat Khān sent him to Bābar in Kabul and Bābar prayed to God that if he was destined to conquer, God would send him pan leaves and mangoes, which according to him were the choicest products of India, as a sign. It so happened that Daulat Khān had sent some half ripe mangoes preserved in pots of honey and betel leaves, by the hand of Ahmad Khān, and Dilawar Khan presented these. Bābar at once prostrated himself to offer thanks to God, and determined to invade India. This account makes no mention of the petition sent by the nobles by the hand of 'Ālam Khan Lodi as mentioned by our author and Badāonī, and the Tār-i-K.J. Lodi (Elliot, Vol. V, p. 106). Ferishtah as far as I can make out does not give the name of 'Ālam Khān Lodi. He says Daulat Khān sent a trustworthy person to Bābar at Kābul.





lāh; Sultān Sikandar advances against him; treaty between him and S.S., p. 364.

'Ala-ud-dīn, Khalji Sultān, made feudatory of Karah by Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Khalji, p. 137; his conquest of Deogīr, his attitude raises suspicion in the mind of S. J. K's, amīra, p. 145; but S. J. K. believes in his good faith, p. 147; deceives S. J. K. and prepares for an expedition to Lakhnauti; receives affectionate letter from S. J. K. whose emissaries find out his hostility to the Sultān, but are prevented from reporting it; determines on his expedition to Lakhnauti, p. 148; meets S. J. K. and has him assassinated, p. 150; proclaimed emperor, p. 151; most of S. J. K's amīra join him; sends army to Multan against S. J. K's son and adherents; S. J. K's sons blinded and kept prisoners at Hānā, p. 155; Mughals invade Hindustan, but are defeated at Jāmmahmūr, p. 156 (see also n. 1); sends an army to invade Gujrat; Nahrwālah and Kambāyat plundered, p. 157; Saldi Mughal takes possession of Siwistān, p. 158; sends Zafar Khān who re-conquers it; Kutlugh Khwāja with a Mughal army comes to conquer Hindustan, and encamps near Dehli, p. 158; battle, Kutlugh Khwāja defeated, p. 159; his projects; new religion; world conquest like that of Alexander, p. 160; gives up the former plan and arranges to conquer cities in India and to keep the Mughals out, p. 162; sends Ulugh Khān and Nasrat Khān to conquer Rantambor; starts for Rantambor, p. 163; attacked and wounded by his nephew Akat Khān; thinks that Akat Khān is dead; Akat Khān sits on the throne,

p. 164; recovers and wants to go to Ulugh Khān at Jhūin, p. 164; Akat Khān beheaded; besieges Rantambor, p. 165; conquers Rantambor, p. 167; enquiries about great calamities; escheats all pious endowments, etc., and decides to take the wealth of all wealthy men; spies at work everywhere, p. 168; prohibits use of wine; wine procured by tricks and illicit distillation; prohibits convivial meetings; takes measures to check the tyranny of headmen; decides that half the produce of the land is to be taken for the state from everybody; Chowdhris' dues to be paid to the state; grazing fees to be realised, p. 169; strict rules about ministerial officers; opinion about the law; questions to Kāzī Maghīa-ud-dīn and the latter's replies, pp. 170-173; rewards K.M.; conquers Chitor; Mughal Targhī invades Hindustan and encamps near Dehli; Sultān in Dehli, but his army is disorganised, p. 173; Targhī goes away without any apparent cause; makes Sirf his capital and rebuilds the citadel of Dehli; wants to have an army; makes seven Rules for improving the finances, for providing a better equipped army, p. 174-177; spies appointed, p. 177; fixes rates for all articles, precious articles and those of small value; strength of the army increased; Mughal invasions stopped; invasion of 'Alī Beg, p. 178, Mughals defeated; 2nd Mughal invasion under Kabek who is slain; 3rd Mughal invaders defeated by Dehli army when returning loaded with booty, p. 179; 4th Mughal invasion, Mughals defeated; no further Mughal invasion till the reign of Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak

- Shāh, p. 180; sends Malik Nāib Kāfūr Hazār-Dināri against Deogīr, p. 181; sends army to Arangal; siege of Arangal; outer fort taken; Rudar Deo makes submission, p. 182; horse dākechauki established when army is sent; Pāiks or runners and scribes employed, p. 183; conspiracy of neo-Moslems discovered and all neo-Moslems ordered to be slain, p. 184; bands of Bahtis, (?) schismatics, (?) ordered to be slain; violence and self-sufficiency of the Sultān in the latter part of his reign, p. 185; his victories; his public works, mosques, etc.; list of great religious teachers, p. 185; of exoteric learned men; teachers of the science of reading the Qurān, p. 187; of poets and others, p. 188; cause of the downfall of his empire; Khizr Khān declared to be the heir-apparent; Sultān's illness, later develops into dropsy; sends Khizr Khān to the fort of Gwālīār at the instigation of Malik Nāib Kāfūr, p. 189; death, p. 190; suspected to have been poisoned by M. N. Kāfūr.
- 'Ala-ud-dīn Khāni Izz-ul-Mulk Malik, made governor of Lakhnauti by Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Altamsh, p. 68.
- 'Alā-ud-dīn Sultān, son of Muhammad Shāh; ascends the throne; weak and foolish; marches towards Sāmānah but hearing the news that the bādshāh of Jaunpūr was marching to Dehli returns to Dehli; Hisām Khān (Vazīr) remonstrates with him; goes to Badāūn, returns to Dehli but says he wants to stay at Badāūn; Hisām Khān again remonstrates, p. 330; again goes to Badāūn; the two brothers of his wife whom he left in Dehli fought with each other and one of them was killed at the instigation of Hisām Khān; attempts to kill Hamīd Khān who fled, p. 331 has only the city of Dehli and a few villages; orders the arrest of Hamīd Khān at the instigation of Qutb Khān, etc., p. 335; orders the arrest of Hamīd Khān, also to put him to death, p. 336; abdicates in favour of Sultān Bahlol Lodi and becomes contented with only Badāūn, p. 339; death, p. 348.
- 'Alā-ud-dīn Sikandar Shāh Sultān, son of Sultān Muhammad Shāh; ascends the throne, dies after one month and sixteen days, p. 271.
- 'Ala-ud-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh Sultān, placed on the throne by the amīrs, p. 81; Mughal armies invade the territory of Lakhnauti, p. 83 (see also n. 2); Mughal armies invade Uchch; the Sultān moves towards Uchch and the Mughals run away; becomes a tyrant; is imprisoned, dies, p. 84.
- 'Ali Mardān Khālji, joins service of S. Kutb-ud-dīn p. 56; made governor of Lakhnauti; after the death of Kutb-ud-dīn assumes the title of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn; slain by Khālji nobles, p. 57.
- Al-Kādir-Billah, Caliph of Baghdad; sends robe of honour to S. Mahmūd, p. 4.
- Almās Beg, brother of 'Ala-ud-dīn Khālji; deceives Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Khālji, and detaches him from his army and personal attendants, p. 149.
- 'Alam Khān, brother of Sultān Sikandar and son of Bahlol Lodi; fled to 'Isa Khān in Patiali when Sultān Sikandar marched against him, p. 357.
- 'Ali Shaikh, son of Sur Ghanamish, advances from Kabul; Sultān Mubārak Shāh sends Malik Mahmūd Hasan against him, p. 305; 'Ali Shaikh, receives a large sum from Faulad and comes to help him,



commits depredations, p. 313; battle with Sultān Shāh Lodi who is killed; battle with 'Imād-ul-Mulk, p. 314; defeated and fled, p. 315; again comes from Kabul and overruns the country round Multan, p. 315; takes possession of Talambah, p. 316; marches against the amīrs, overruns the country on the river Biah and goes towards Lahore, p. 318; takes horsemen of Lahore and advances towards Dibālpūr, p. 319; pursued by Sultān Mubārak Shāh; flees, escapes, p. 319. 'Ali Beg, grandson of Changīz Khān; invades India, p. 178: defeated, p. 179.

'Ali bin Mas'ūd, child 3 years of age nominated ruler for about three months, p. 31.

'Ali Tandari, measure taken against him by Amīr Mas'ūd, p. 24.

Alp Khan (Sultan Hoshang), Governor of Dhār: advances towards Gwālīār; Sultan Mubārak Shāh advances against him, p. 305; sends tribute to S.M.Sh. and returns towards Dhūr, p. 306.

Amīr Nāsir-ud-dīn Sabuktigin, becomes ruler of Ghaznīn, p. 2. (see also note 2); invades Hindustan; Rājā Jaipāl attacks him; his son Amīr Mahmūd distinguishes himself; Jaipāl sues for peace but later breaks his engagement; meets him again: defeats Jaipāl in the battle of Lamaghān, p. 3; dies, p. 4.

Amīr Khān, son of Auhad Khān; governor of Biānah: kills the uncle of Sultān Mubārak Shāh, p. 305; agrees to pay tribute to S.M.Sh., pp. 305-306.

Amīr Mahmūd, son of S. Nāsir-ud-dīn Sabuktigin, distinguishes himself in the battle against Rājā Jaipāl, p. 3, for subsequent history see under Sultān Mahmūd Sabuktigin.

Amīr Mas'ūd, people want him, p. 18; receives homage at Nishāpūr; comes to Hirāt; goes to Balkh, p. 19; comes to Ghaznīn; makes Khwāja Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Muhammad 'Abdus Samad his minister; invades India in 424 A.H.; attacks the fort of Sarsati in Kashmīr, p. 20; seizes the fort, obtains much booty; takes measures against Turkmāns, p. 21, invades Hindustan; takes Hānsi and Pānīpat, p. 22; goes to Balkh; advances to Māwar-un-nahr; comes to Balkh in pursuit of Dāūd, p. 23; takes measures against 'Ali Tandari; agreement with Turkmāns; trouble with Turkmāns; goes to Nishāpūr; further trouble with the Turkmāns, p. 24; goes to Merv rejoined by some of his troops and comes to Ghaznīn by way of Ghur, p. 25; punishes the rebels; sends Amīr Maudūd, to Balkh, p. 25; sends Amīr Muhammad to Multan; his slaves (or guards) attack him and have his head cut off, p. 26.

Amīr Maudūd, goes to Balkh being sent by Amīr Mas'ūd, p. 25; wants to avenge his father's murder; defeats Amīr Muhammad and puts him to death, p. 27; engaged with matters connected with the Turkmāns, p. 28; summons Tughral, p. 29; starts for Kabul, p. 30; falls ill at Syāmkot; returns to Ghaznīn, and dies in 441 A.H., p. 31.

Amīr Muhammad, son of Mahmūd p. 17; succeeds; people turned to Mas'ūd, p. 18; was deposed after a rule of five months; imprisoned in the fort of Zaleh, p. 19; sent to Multan by Amīr Mas'ūd, p. 26; defeated and killed by Amīr Maudūd, p. 27.

Ānandpāl, son of Jaipāl; opposes Mahmūd in his journey to Multān; is defeated by him, and retires to the mountains of Kashmīr; defeated again in 399 by S. Mahmūd, p. 6; offers 50 elephants to Mahmūd on his leaving him alone, (see also note 2, p. 2.); offer rejected and Mahmūd plunders Thānessar, p. 7.

Ārām Shāh Sultān, ascends the throne, p. 60; defeated by Malik Altamsh, p. 61.

Arslān Shāh, imprisons his brothers, except one who goes to Sultān Sanjār in Khurāsān, p. 33; defeated by Sultān Sanjār; retires to Hindustan, p. 34.

Asad-ud-dīn Malik, cousin of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, conspires to murder Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh; is put to death by S. K. M. Sh., p. 195.

## B

Bachgotis, a tribe of Rajputs, p. 359, (see also n. 2).

Bahā-ud-dīn Tughral, Sultān, one of the slaves of Sultān Muizz-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh of Ghaznīn, takes up his residence in the country of Biānah; tries to capture Gwālīār; hostility with Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn Aibak; death, p. 49.

Bahira, Raja of Bhātiāh, p. 5; is surrounded by Mahmūd's army, stabs himself and dies, p. 6.

Bahjat Khān, governor of Chanderi; renounces his allegiance to Sultān Mahmūd Mālvi and becomes a subject of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, p. 381.

Bahlol Lodi Sultān (see Malik Bahlol Lodi).

Bahlol Lodi Malik, (becomes afterwards Sultān Bahlol Lodi, attacks Sultān Mahmūd Khān's retiring army; made governor of Dibālpūr

and Lahor; is sent against Jasrat Khokhar, who makes peace with him and gives him the hope of his becoming Sultān of Dehli, p. 328; begins collecting men, takes possession of some *parganas* in his neighbourhood, marches to Dehli, returns without doing anything, 329; comes to Delhi again, assumes the title of Sultān Bahlol; early history, p. 332; story of his visit to a *darvish* in Sāmānah, p. 333; in possession of Sirhind; fights with Sultān Mahmūd Mālvi; is made Khān-i Khānān; takes forcible possession of Lahore and Dibālpūr; advances on Dehli, is unable to take it, goes back to Sirhind, p. 334; advances again to Dehli but goes back to Sirhind, p. 335; his character; shows consideration and gentleness to Hamīd Khān who was then very powerful, p. 338; Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn abdicates in his favour, keeping only Badāūn for himself, p. 339; marches to Multan, p. 340; Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī advances to Dehli, returns from Dibālpūr and encamps at Nalira; his troops capture some camels, etc., of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī's army, p. 340; obtains great power and various chiefs submit to him; S.M.Sh. again attacks him; peace settled, p. 341; orders Jūna Khān to march out of Shamsābād as previously arranged; makes Shamsābād over to Rāy Karan; S. M. Sh. again attacks him, p. 342; marches towards Jaunpūr to attack him 343-344; makes peace with Sultān Husain; receives presents from him, p. 345; marches towards Shamsābād and takes it from Jūnā Khān and makes it over to Rāy Karan, p. 345-346; marches towards Multan, p. 346;

marches against Miwāt; meets Sultān Husain near the town of Bhatwarāh, p. 347; makes peace with Sultān Husain; again attacks his army and takes possession of some *parganas*, p. 349; again makes peace with S. H., defeats S. H. at Sonpūr; becomes more powerful; again attacks and defeats S. H.; attacks Itāwah and takes it; skirmish between him and S. H., p. 351; seizes Jaunpūr, p. 352; marches towards Badāūn; places Bārbāk Shāh on the throne of the Sharqī kingdom; p. 353; dies, p. 354.

Bahrām Abih, rebels in Multan, defeated and killed by Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, p. 221.

Bahrām Lodi Malik Sultān Shāh, sent by Khizr Khān, and defeats Sārang Khān, p. 297, killed in a battle with Shaikh 'Ali, p. 314.

Bahrām Shāh, placed on the throne by Sultān Sanjār; invades India, and leaves a governor and returns to Ghaznī; the governor revolts; Bahrām Shāh attacks him and he is slain, p. 34; dies in 547 A.H., p. 35.

Bahtis, a band of schismatics ordered to be killed by Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, p. 187.

Bakhtiyār Khilji, early life, p. 49; raids Behar and Muner; joins the service of Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn; made ruler of Lakhnauti, p. 50; story of the Brāhmans; arrives in Nudiar; Lakhmanīa escapes; founds Lakhnauti in Gour, p. 51; assumes sovereignty, p. 51; attempts to conquer Tibbet and Turkistan, p. 52; army worn out, and returns; finds bridges broken, p. 53; takes shelter in a temple, p. 54; besieged by Rai of Kāmrad; falls ill and dies, p. 54.

Barāos, also called Parwaris, tribe of low class people of Gujrat, p. 199, 200, 201, 203, 204.

Bārbāk Shāh, Bādshāh of Jaunpūr; Sultān Sikandar sends Ismail Khān to him; goes from Jaunpūr to Kanouj, when S. S. attacks him, p. 357; defeated by S. S. but again placed on the throne by him; S. S. takes away some of the *parganas*, p. 358; leaves Jaunpūr, p. 360; comes to Dalmāu to meet S. S.; unable to remain at Jaunpūr, p. 360; seized, and brought to S. S. p. 361.

Bhadwariahs, tribe of turbulent people, p. 350.

Bhikhān Khān Shāhzāda, ascends the throne under the title of Muhammad Shāh; peace established between Sultān Bahlol and him, p. 342.

Bughrā Khān, younger son of Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn Balban; sent to Sāmānah and Sunām conferred on him by his father, p. 107; accompanies Sultān to Lakhnauti, p. 109; left by Sultān G. B. with some advice, p. 111, sent for by S. G. B. and requested to remain at Dehli; goes to Lakhnauti, p. 119; writes letters to his son S. Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaikobād, p. 122; meets his son at Audh, p. 123; an account of the meeting, p. 123 and 124; farewell advice to his son, p. 124.

## D

Daryā Khān, deserts Sultān Muḥmūd Sharqī at the instigation of Qutb Khān, p. 340.

Dāūd, ruler of Multan; Sultān Muḥmūd takes him by surprise; agrees to pay annual tribute to the former and to follow the true religion, p. 6; Amīr Mas'ūd pursues him, p. 23.

## F

Faḡhr-ud-dīn Jūnā Malik, made master of the horse by Khusru Khān, p. 205; escapes from Dehli, is pursued but arrives at Dibālpūr, p. 206.

Farīd Khān, son of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, killed by the Barāos, p. 204.

Farrukh<sup>z</sup>ād, placed on the throne of Ghaznān: troubles with the Saljukians: treaty; death, p. 32 (see also n. 4).

Fateh Khān, sent by Sultan Mahmūd Sharqī to fight with Sultān Bahlol Lodi; defeated, p. 340.

Faulād, asks the help of Shaikh 'Ali Beg sending a large sum; arrangement with the former, p. 313; overruns the country of Rāy Fīroz and the latter is killed.

Fīroz Shāh, Sultān Rukn-ud-dīn, ascends the throne, p. 72; gives himself up to dissipation; amīrs revolt; marches towards the Punjab, p. 73: returns to Dehli but is seized, and put into prison and dies, p. 74.

Fīroz Shāh Sultān, arrives at Panduah; Sultān Sikandar takes shelter in Ekdālah; Ekdālah is besieged, Sultān Sikandar submits and agrees to pay tribute; on his return journey halts at Jaunpūr for the rains; goes to Jājnagar; Rāi Sārbīn of Sankrah fled; crosses the Mahānadi and arrives at Benares, capital of the Rāi of Jājnagar; the Rāi escapes to Tilang and begs for peace and sends presents; returns to Dehli, 772 A.H., p. 247; orders excavation of canals; separates Sarhind from Sāmānah; marches to Nagarkot; "iced sharbat"; Rājā of Nagarkot submits; story of Sikandar Zulqarnain's (Alexander the Great's, see also note 1) coming to Nagarkot; image of Nushāba (see also note 2), p. 248, library of books of the Brāhmans at

Nagarkot; marches towards Thatha; the Jām entrenches himself and later submits, p. 249; makes Malik Mufarraḥ Sultānī (Farhat-ul-Mulk) governor of Gujrāt, p. 250; marches to Itāwah and obtains the submission of the Zamīndārs of that country; p. 250-251; marches to Sāmānah; marches to Kaithar and devastates the country, p. 251; Khān-i-Jahān's influence over him; Khān-i-Jahān's plot against Shāh<sup>z</sup>āda Muhammad Khān's friends; Shāh<sup>z</sup>āda Muhammad Khān tells him of Khān-i-Jahān's plot; S.M.K. attacks K.-i-J., p. 252; abdicates and puts S.M.K. on the throne, p. 253; his troops rebel against Sultān Muhammad Shāh; fighting between his troops and those of S.M.S., p. 254; makes Tughlaq Shāh, son of Fateh Khān, his heir; dies, p. 255; three regulations about the government, p. 256; Fatuhāt Fīroz-shāhi written by him, its contents, p. 257; list of public works carried out by him, p. 260.

## G

Ghāzi Malik, (Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn Tughlaq Shāh), asked to come to Dehli by Khusru Khān, but he commences hostilities, p. 205; Khusru Khān sends an army against him; Malik Bahrām Abīh comes to him; defeats Kh. Kh.'s army and advances to Dehli, p. 206, Kh. Kh. is seized and executed; advances from the assembled noblemen, p. 207; becomes Sultān with the title of Sultan Ghiās-ud-dīn Tughlaq Shāh; stipends to descendants of S. 'A. and S. K., p. 208; grant of titles and offices; makes a moderate revenue assessment, p. 209; rules about *jāgīr-dārs*; resumes the sums bestowed

by Kh. Kh.; rewards judges; adopts financial measures and rules prescribed by S. 'A.; resumes improper grants by S. Kutb-ud-dīn, p. 210; lays foundation of fort of Tughlaqābād, p. 211; sends Ulugh Khān to Arangal, again sends Ulugh Khān to Arangal, which is captured; induced to invade Lakhnauti, sends Tātār Khān in advance, p. 213; returns to Dehli, arrives in the pavilion erected by his son Ulugh Khān near Tughlaqābād; roof of pavilion falls in and he is killed, p. 214.

Ghiās-ud-dīn Balban Sultān, made Vazīr by Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, p. 85; made Sultān; his virtuous and careful administration, p. 93; his stern justice, p. 94; his durbars, p. 95; his dignity and grandeur of demeanour; adopts the golden mean between mercy and wrath, p. 96; gives up drinking, convivial meetings and gambling on becoming Sultān, p. 97; objects to conquer Gujrāt, Mālwa etc., as it was necessary to protect his dominions from the yearly invasion of the Mughals, p. 98; fond of hunting; preserves game; takes stern measures against Miwātis, p. 99; appoints strong jūgirdārs to put down turbulent people; opens the road to Jaunpūr, Behar and Bangālah, p. 100; stern measures against the people of Kātiher; marches to Lahore which had been ravaged by Mughals, p. 101; Mughals give trouble and he sends his eldest son Muhammad Sultān to Multan to check them, p. 103; Mughals again invade, and prince Muhammad Sultān is killed in battle with them, p. 104; precepts to his son, M. S. on his last visit to Dehli, p. 105; sends his younger son

Bughrā Khān to Sāmānah and confers it and Sunām on him, p. 107; revolt of Tughral, governor of Lakhnauti; sends troops against him, but they are defeated; sends another army which is also defeated, p. 108; marches towards Lakhnauti; takes Bughrā Khān with him; arrives at Lakhnauti and pursues Tughral; arrives near Sonārgāon; Bhojrāi, the governor, joins him; Tughral disappears, p. 109; but is pursued and slain p. 111, leaves B. Kh. with some advice, p. 111; returns to Dehli; p. 112; his great sorrow; sends his grand son to Multan; p. 118; sends for B. Kh. and tells him to remain at Dehli, and to send his son Kaikubād to Lakhnauti, but B. Kh. goes to Lakhnauti; p. 119; appoints Kai-khusru as his successor; p. 119.

Ghiās-ud-dīn Khalji Sultān, ruler of Lakhnauti attacked and defeated by Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Altamsh and brought under subjection, p. 66; defeated by Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn taken prisoner and slain, p. 66.

Ghiās-ud-dīn Sultān, becomes Sultān of Ghūr; his brother who afterwards became S. M. M. Ghuri when ruler of Tiginābād repeatedly attacked Ghaznīn, p. 36; he conquered Ghaznīn, p. 36.

Ghiās-ud-dīn Tughlāq Shāh, Sultān (see Ghūzi Malik).

## H

Haji Moulā, a man belonging to the tribe of the Amīr-ul-umra, enters Dehli; slays the Kotwāl and places Shāh Nabāsa Muhtasib on the throne, p. 166; killed by Hamīd-ud-dīn Amīr Kū, p. 167.

Hamīd Khān. made Vazīr, p. 334; 'Ala-ud-dīn orders his arrest, p. 335; ordered to be put to death by

'Ala-ud-dīn, escapes and the people gathered round him; drives out the family of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn from the palace and becomes the de facto Sultān; thinks of placing Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī of Jaunpūr on the throne, p. 336; possesses great power, and Sultān Bahlol Lodi shows gentleness to him: his Afghāns at the instance of S. B. L. behave strangely, p. 338; imprisoned, 339.

Hamid-ud-dīn Amīr Kū, kills Hājī Moulā and the 'Alāwī whom the latter had placed on the throne, p. 167.

Harpāl Deo, son-in-law of Rām Deo; in possession of Deogīr; Deogīr taken from him; he is taken prisoner, and is killed by Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, p. 194.

Hasan Khwāja. writes the elegy of Muhammad Sultān, p. 113.

Hazār-Dināri Malik Nāib Kāfur, a slave of a Merchant of Kambūyat, taken from his master by Nasrat Khān and brought to Delhi, becomes a great favourite of S. 'Ala-ud-dīn, is afterwards made Nāib-i-mulk by him, p. 157, sent against Deogīr, p. 181, sent to invade Dhor Samundar and Ma'abar, p. 184, instigates S. 'A. to send Khizr Khān who had been declared to be the Sultān's heir to Gwāliār, suspected to have poisoned S. 'A., p. 190, killed by a band of the old pūlks, p. 191.

Hisām Khān, Vazīr of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, remonstrates with the latter, p. 330; at his instigation one of the brothers of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn's wife is killed, p. 331; is killed by S. Muhammad, p. 334.

Hisām-ud-dīn, sent to Gujrat; wanted to revolt but was seized and sent to Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn M. Sh. by the Amīrs, p. 197.

Hisām-ud-dīn Malik, early life; joins service of Bakhtiyār, p. 58; gives tribute to Sultān Shams-ud-dīn; defeated by Malik Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd and is slain, p. 59.

Horse Dākehauki, established by Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, p. 183.

Humāyūn Khān Shāhzāda, devastates the country round Dehli, p. 265; defeated by Abu Bakr Shāh's army, p. 265; sent by S. Muhammad Shāh against A. B. S., p. 269.

Husain Sultān, at the invitation of the Zamīndārs comes with an army to attack Sultān Sikandar but is defeated, p. 363.

## I

Ibrāhīm, pious king, p. 32; treaty with the Saljukians; conquers many towns in India; death, p. 33.

Ibrāhīm Lodi Sultān, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi made Sultān (see also note 2, p. 392); separates Jaunpūr and gives it to Shāhzāda Jalāl Khān (see also note 1, p. 393); sends for Sh. J. Kh. who does not come, p. 394; adopts hostile measures and asks the amīrs of Jaunpūr not to render allegiance to Sh. J. Khān; attempts to make himself popular, p. 395; determines to crush Sh. J. Kh. who had got A'zam Humāyūn Sarwāni to befriend him, p. 397; but A'. H. deserts Sh. J. Kh. and joins the Sultān, p. 398; besieges Sh. J. Kh. at Kālpī and takes it, p. 399; attends to the government, becomes angry with Mian Bhudah and imprisons him, p. 400; sends A'zam H. S. to conquer Gwāliār; the outer fort of Bādagarh is blown up and taken, p. 402; loses all faith in the amīrs, who then rebel against him; but are defeated by his adherents, p. 404; revolt of Bahādur Khān,

son of Daryā Khān Luhānī in Behar, p. 406; Bābar invades India. Sultān Ibrāhīm defeated in the vicinity of Pānīpat and slain, p. 407.

Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī Sultān, succeeds after the death of his brother Mubārak Shāh Sharqī; Sultān Mahmūd Shāh goes over to his army; returns to Jaunpūr, p. 284; recovers Kanouj, p. 287; takes Sambal, p. 288; battle between him and Sultān Mubārak Shāh, p. 309; warfare between him and Sultān Hoshang Mālwi, p. 321; takes possession of some *parganas*, p. 327.

Ikhṭiār-ud-dīn Altunia Malik, governor of Tabarhinda; marries Sultān Razia; defeated and slain along with her, p. 77.

Iqbāl Khūn, formerly known as Mallu, enters into agreement with Nasrat Shāh; attacks Nasrat Shāh who escapes to Firozābād, p. 277; puts Muqarrab Khūn to death and treats Sultān Mahmūd Shāh as a puppet; attacks Tātār Khān; acquires great power, p. 278; opposes Amīr Taimūr Gurgān, but is routed and escapes to Gujrat, p. 280; Nasrat Shāh collects a force and sends Shahāb Khān against him, p. 281; kills Shahāb Khān and takes possession of Dehli, p. 281-82; takes possession of the country round Dehli; the rest of the country in the possession of different nobles; marches against Bīnāh, and defeats Shams Khūn and then marches towards Kaithar, p. 282; marches against Mubārak Shāh Sharqī; the latter meets him, and after two months they come to terms, p. 283; welcomes Sultān Mahmūd Shāh and places him in the Humāyūn palace, p. 284; besieges Gwālār; again marches to

Gwālār, fights a battle with Bīram Deo in front of Dholpūr and defeats him and returns to Dehli; unsuccessfully besieges Sultān Mahmūd, p. 285; marches towards Sāmānah; fights a battle with Khizr Khān and being taken prisoner is put to death, p. 286.

‘Izz-ud-dīn Balban Malik, ascends the throne; amīrs object and place Sultān ‘Ala-ud-dīn Ma’sūd Shāh on the throne, p. 81.

‘Izz-ud-dīn Muhammad, noble of Bakhtiyār Khilji; sent to Jājnagar; performs mourning rites for Bakhtiyār Khilji, p. 55.

## J

Jaipāl, ruler of Hindustan; attacks Sabuktigin; sues for peace; breaks the engagement; meets Sabuktigin again; is defeated in the battle of Lamaghān, p. 3; meets Sultān Mahmūd, in the 2nd invasion of India; is defeated; made prisoner p. 5.

Jalāl Khān Lodi, Son of Mahmūd Khān Lodi, (see also note 4, p. 376), governor of Kālpi; p. 376; ordered by Sultān Sikandar to go in advance and begin the siege of Narwar; shows his army to S. I. and thereby excites his envy; ordered to be seized and put in chains and imprisoned in Uditnagar, p. 377.

Jalāl Khān Shāhzādah, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, becomes Sultān of Jaunpūr, p. 393; sent for by Sultān Ibrāhīm, but does not come, p. 394; S. I. adopts hostile measures, and asks the amīrs of Jaunpūr not to render allegiance to him, p. 395; goes from Jaunpūr to Kālpi, p. 396. goes to ‘Azam Humāyūn Sarwānī at Kālinjar, p. 396; ‘A. H. S. joins him and they attack Sa’id Khan, governor of Oudh, 397. S. I. marches

against them; 'A. H. S. separates from S. J. Kh., p. 398; S. J. besieges him at Kālpī and captures, etc.; reaches the neighbourhood of Agra; wants in revenge of Kālpī to ravage Agra; Malik Adam softens him with sweet words; agrees to suspend the sack of Agra, p. 399; gives up the paraphernalia of royalty, p. 399; Sultān Ibrāhīm wants to kill him; takes shelter with the Rājā of Gwālīār, p. 400.

Jalāl-ud-dīn Khalji Sultān, ascends the throne, p. 132; founds new city; his piety, patience, modesty and justice, p. 133; makes Kilu Khari his capital; puts down the rebellion of Malik Jhaju, nephew of Sultān Balban, p. 134, 135; treats the prisoners with kindness, p. 136; makes 'Ala-ud-dīn (afterwards Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn) feudatory of Karah; assumes the title of "the warrior of God," p. 139; renounces the title later on; Sultān orders Sidi Maulah, a darvish, to be burnt alive, is dissuaded from carrying it out; Sidi Maulah slain by a Kalandar; marches against Rantambor, p. 142; Mughals invade India; negotiations; some Mughals settle at Ghiāspūr and become Musalmans, are called *nau-Muslim* Neo-Moslems, p. 143; defeats Rām Deo, ruler of Deogīr; starts for Gwālīār; receives report of 'Ala-ud-dīn's victory; doubts about 'Ala-ud-dīn's attitude, p. 145; believes in 'Ala-ud-dīn's good faith; returns to Dehli, p. 147; 'Ala-ud-dīn deceives him and prepares an expedition to Lakhnauti; sends an affectionate letter to 'Ala-ud-dīn, but his emissaries find that the latter is hostile; 'Ala-ud-dīn determines on his expedition to Lakhnauti, p. 148; arrives at Karah; Almās Beg de-

ceives Sultān and detaches him from his army and personal attendants, p. 149; meets 'Ala-ud-dīn, p. 150; is wounded and his head is cut off, p. 150-51.

Jām, ruler of Thatha, entrenches himself and later submits to Sultān Fīroz Shāh, p. 249.

Jamāl-ud-dīn Yākut, Abyssinian Lord of the stables under S. Razia, killed by Turki nobles, p. 77.

Jasrat, son of Shaikhā Khokhar; besieges Kalānūr and defeats Malik Sikandar, p. 310-11, makes peace with Bahlol Lodi and gives him the hope of becoming Sultān of Dehli, p. 328.

Jats, meet Mahmūd with 4000 (or 8000) boats to fight him but are drowned and cut to pieces by the former, p. 16.

Jhaju Malik, nephew of Sultān Balban; rebels against Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Khalji, p. 134; is taken prisoner but is treated with kindness by S.J.K., p. 136.

Juman Mulla, Sultān Sikandar Lodi imprisons him, p. 375. (See note 2 also).

Jūnā Khān, governor of Shamsābād under Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī Sultān; Bahlol Lodi orders him to march out of Shamsābād as previously arranged, p. 342; S.B.L. takes Shamsābād from him and makes it over to Rāy Karan, p. 346.

## K

Kabek, a mughal invader; fights with the army of Dehli and is killed p. 179.

Kaikhusrū, grandson of S. Ghiās-ud-dīn Balban sent to Multan by S. G. B., p. 118; appointed successor; after the death of S. G. B. sent to



Multan by Malik-ul-Ümra, p. 110; assassinated, p. 121.

Kaikubād Sultān, see Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaikubād Sultān.

Kamāl-ud-dīn Malik, sent by S. Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh to Gujrat to put down revolts, p. 193; killed, p. 191.

Kanya Pāik, rebels against S. M. Tughlaq Shāh near Arangal, p. 224.

Khān-i-Jahān, Jūnān or Khubān Shāh, eldest son of Khān-i-Jahān, succeeds his father and receives the title of Khān-i-Jahān, is Vazīr for twenty years, but towards the end of S. F. Shah's reign acquires undue influence over him; plots against Shāh-zādah, Muhammad Khān's friends; his plot is reported to the Sultān by the Shāh-zādah; attacked by the Shāh-zādah, p. 252; takes refuge with Kukā Chauhān Zamān-dār of Miwāt, p. 253; sent by Kukā Chauhān to Sikandar Khān, is put to death, pp. 253-54.

Khān of Khalj, fights with Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Kabājūh, p. 48; see also note 1.

Khizr Khān, eldest son of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn declared to be the heir-apparent; sent to Gwālīūr by his father at the instigation of Malik Nāib Kāfur, p. 189.

Khizr Khān, comes with others and renders homage to Taimūr, p. 281; Taimūr makes over Multān and Dibālpūr to him, p. 281; defeats Taghi Khān Turk, p. 283; fights with Iqbāl Khān, takes him prisoner and puts him to death, p. 286; becomes Sultān under the title of Rāyāt 'Alī Khizr Khān (see under Kh. Kh. Rāyāt 'Alī).

Khizr Khān, Rāyāt 'Alī, son of Malik Subāimān; parentage and early history; made governor of Multan by

Sultān Firoz Shāh, p. 292; sends Tāj-ul-Mulk to Badāūn and Kaithar to punish the rebels of the country, p. 293; T-ul-M. reduces the rebels and returns to Dehli, p. 294; a horde of Turks take possession of Sirhind; sends Zirak Khān against them; rebellion of Tūghlān and some Turks, p. 295. Tūghlān submits and agrees to pay tribute, p. 296; sends T-ul-M. against the Rājā of Kaithar, p. 296; advances himself, p. 296; some nobles conspire against him; puts the conspirators to death and returns to Dehli; sends Malik Sultān Shāh Bahrām Lodi who defeats a man who calls himself Sārang Khān and revolts in the hills of Baj-wārah, p. 297; sends Khair-ud-dīn against Tūghlān, p. 298; marches against the rebels of Miwāt and then goes to Gwālīūr to pillage the country, p. 299; dies, p. 299.

Sheikhā Khokhar, defeated by Sārang Khān, p. 273; Taimūr seizes him and pillages and sacks Lahore, p. 281; becomes powerful by defeating and plundering the army of Sultān 'Alī Bādshāh of Kashmīr and resolves to seize Dehli, overruns the country round Ludhiānā and besieges Jālandhar, p. 300; besieges Sirhind, p. 301; is pursued by Sultān Mubārak Shāh, p. 302; collects army and comes to Lahore, p. 302; returns to Kalānūr and then to the hills, p. 303; overruns the country of Dibālpūr, p. 305; again rebels; comes near Jālandhar, and suddenly attacks Malik Sikandar, defeats him and takes him prisoner; besieges Lahore, p. 315; abandons the siege of Lahore, p. 316.

Khokhars, p. 61.

Khusru Amīr, author of Kirān-us-Sa'dāin, p. 123.

Khusru Khān, a young Parwārī of Gujrat, made Kh. Kh. and vazīr, p. 192; sent in command of an expedition to Ma'abar, p. 195; his proceedings there; tries to set up an independent authority there, p. 198; other amīrs hasten to Dehli to give information of this, but he forestalls them, and gets the Sultān to punish them, pp. 198-99; collects his countrymen to help him in his projected rebellion; his confederates murder the Sultān, p. 203; has the Khutba read in his own name and ascends the throne taking the title of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn, p. 204; tries to gain over Ghāzī Malik and his son Malik F. Juna to his side, p. 205, but failing to do so, sends an army against them; but Gh. M. defeats it and advances to Dehli, p. 206; Kh. Kh. comes out of Dehli and gives battle but is defeated, p. 207; he is captured and brought before Gh. M. and is executed, p. 207.

Khusru Malik, last of the Sultāns of Ghaznīn, who had settled in Lahore; gives himself up to dissipation; is sent to Ghaznīn by Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad Sām, is put to death, p. 35.

Khusru Shāh, attacked by 'Ala-ud-dīn Husain Ghūrī; comes to Lahore, goes back to Ghaznīn but returns to Lahore, and dies there in 555 A.H., p. 35.

Kirān-us-Sa'daīn, poem by Amīr Khusru, descriptive of meeting between Bughra Khān and Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaikubād, p. 123.

Kukā Chauhān, zamīndār of Mīwāt; Khān-i-Jahān takes refuge with him; sends him to Sikandar Khān, pp. 253-54.

Kulchandra, ruler of Mahāwan, on the Jumna about 20 *Karohs* from

Agra, p. 10; attempts to escape but being pursued by Mahmūd's army stabs and kills himself, pp. 10-11.

Kutb-ud-dīn, one of the slaves of S. M. M. S. Gh., left by the latter at Kuhrām, p. 39; makes Dehli his capital; takes Thānkīr (modern Biānah), Gwālīār and Badāūn; defeats Rāi Bhīm Deo of Gujrat, p. 40; early life, p. 42; made an amīr; made Sultān by Sultān Ghīās-ud-dīn, p. 43; very charitable; called Kutb-ud-dīn lāk-bakhsh; hostility between him and Tāj-ud-dīn (ruler of Ghaznīn), p. 44; death from a fall from horse when playing *chaugān*, p. 45.

Kutlugh Khān, step-father of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd; shows hostility, p. 91; is invited to Dehli by a number of people there; they are dispersed by order of the Sultān in accordance with the advice of Ulugh Khān-i-Balban and Kutlugh Khān on coming to Dehli finds them all gone, pp. 91-92.

Kutlagh Khwājah, a Mughal, invades Hindustan and encamps near Dehli, p. 158. 'Ala-ud-dīn meets him, Zafar Khān in command of the right wing of the Dehli army defeats the Mughals and pursues them for a long distance, p. 159.

## L

Lakhmania or Lakhman Sen, last Sen King of Bengal, escapes when Bakhtiyār Khilji arrives in Nudia, p. 51.

## M

Maghīs-ud-dīn Qāzī, of Biānah, questions put to him by Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, and his replies, pp. 170-73; rewarded by the Sultān, p. 173.

Mahmūd, Sultān Sabuktigin, receives robe of honour from Al-Kadir-Billah,

Caliph of Baghdād, p. 4; 1st invasion of Hindustan; again invades Hindustan; defeats Jaipāl; takes him prisoner; goes to Bahinda, (see also note 3); 3rd invasion of Hindustan; passes through Multan and encamps at Bhātīāh, p. 5.; attacks Bahira (the Rājā of Bhātīāh) who retires and stabs himself; wants to take Dāūd (ruler of Multan) by surprise; Ānandpāl opposes him in his journey to Multan, but is defeated and retires to the mountains of Kashmīr; Dāūd agrees to pay him tribute and to follow the true religion; pursues Sukhpāl and imprisons him; invades India and defeats Ānandpāl, p. 6; goes to Bhimnagar (see also note 2); invades and takes the rest of Multan; invades Thanessar; son of Jaipāl offers 50 elephants on his leaving him alone (see also note 2); rejects the offer and plunders Thanessar, p. 7; envoy comes from ruler of Egypt: drives out the envoy: invades Nandana in the Bālnāth hills; people in the fort surrender and he takes away all the treasures; advances towards Kashmīr and plunders it, p. 8; invades Kashmīr and besieges Lohkot, but has to abandon the siege, p. 9; invades Kanouj, and Korah, its ruler submits; he advances to Baran (see also note 5); garrison pays tribute, p. 10; comes to Mahāwan on the Jumna, and captures and plunders it, pp. 10-11; Kulchandra the ruler of Mahāwan attempts to escape but being pursued by Mahmūd's troops stabs and kills himself, pp. 10-11; advances to Maturah; destroys the city and the temples, p. 11; invades India to punish Nandā (see also note 1), p. 12; Naro Jaipāl

meets him near the Jumna to prevent his getting to Nandā; defeats Naro Jaipāl's army; advances towards the Kingdom of Nandā ruler of Kālinjar; Nandā collects an immense army but finally flies away, p. 13; invades Kashmīr and again besieges Lohkot but abandons the siege; invades Lahore and Bakrah, p. 13; invades the country of Nandā; besieges Gwālīār; accepts offer of tribute; besieges Kālanjar; Nandā offers him 30 elephants, p. 14; exchange of civility between Mahmūd and Nandā, p. 14; invades Somnāth, reaches the city of Nahrwālā Patan; breaks the idol of Somnāth, p. 15; marches through desert to avoid Param Deo, pp. 15-16; suffers great privations; again invades to punish the Jāts; advances towards Multan; constructs fleet of 1,400 boats; Jāts meet him with 4,000 (or 8,000) boats; Jāts drowned and cut to pieces, p. 16; attacked with hectic fever and dies, p. 17 (see also note 2).

Mahmūd Hasan Malik, sent against Shaikh 'Alī by Sultān Mabūrak Shāh who makes Multan and Sindh over to him, p. 305.

Mahmūd Khilji Sultān, Bādshāh of Malwah, summoned by the Miwāti Amīrs comes to Dehli; battle between Muhammad Shāh and his amīrs and proposal of pence, pp. 327-28; turns back on hearing the advance of Sultān Ahmed Gujrati towards Mandu; Malik Bahlol Lodi attacks his retiring army, p. 328.

Mahmūd Shāh Sultān, youngest son of Sultān Muhammad Shāh; ascends the throne p. 272; makes over Jaunpūr, to Khwājah Sarwar with the title of Sultān-ush-Sharq, pp. 272-73; sends Sūrang Khān to

Dihālpūr to suppress disturbances created by Sheikhā Khokhar, p. 273; marches towards Gwāliār and Biānah but returns owing to a quarrel between S'ādat Kh. and Muqarrab Khān; M. Khān revolts and besieges the city; Mahmūd Shāh goes over to M. Kh., p. 274-275; becomes a puppet in the hands of Iqbāl Khān, p. 278; goes towards Gujrat when Taimūr invades India, p. 280; returns from Gujrat to Dhār and later to Dehli, p. 283-284; is placed in the Humāyūn palace by Iqbāl Khān, p. 284; goes over to Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī's army; comes to Kanouj and expels the Sharqī governor and takes possession, p. 284; summoned by the amīrs at Dehli from Kanouj; again ascends the throne; marches towards Jaunpūr; peace concluded, p. 287; marches to Baran, takes it and marches to Sambal and takes it, p. 288, besieges the citadel of Sirī and takes possession of the towns of Doab, p. 290; dies, pp. 290-91.

Mahmūd Sharqī Sultān, the amīrs of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn summon him and he arrives in Dehli in 856 A.H., with a large army and besieges Dehli, p. 340; again comes to attack Sultān Bahlol Lodi; peace settled, p. 341; some of his camels etc., are captured by Sultān Bahlol Lodi's troops; sends Fateh Khān Harawi to attack Sultān B. L.; Qutb Khān Lodi calls upon Darya Khān Lodi to desert and he does so and Fateh Khān is defeated, p. 340; retires to Jaunpūr, p. 341; comes again to attack S. B. L.; dies, p. 342.

Malik-Ul-Umra, (Fakhr-ud-dīn Kotwāl) directed by S. Ghīās-ud-dīn Balban to make the latter's grandson, Kai

Khusru his successor; sends Kai Khusru to Multan and makes Kai-kubād another grandson of S. G. B. the Sultān with the title of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaikubād, p. 119; tries to turn his adopted son Malik Nizām-ud-dīn from his evil designs, p. 122;

Malkah-i-Jahān, mother of S. M. T. Sh.; death, p. 223.

Mallār Deo, Rājā of Dhor samundar, taken prisoner by Malik Nāib Kāfūr Hazār-dināri, p. 184.

Mangu Khān, son of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, killed by the Barāos, p. 204.

Mas'ūd bin Ibrāhīm, nothing known about him but see note 2, p. 33.

Mas'ūd Shahīd Sipah Sālār, p. 227.

Māwar-un-Nahr, name of place, p. 23.

Mubārak Shāh Sultān, is made Sultān, p. 283; son of Rāyāt-i-'Alī Khizr Khān, p. 299; rebellion of Sheikhā Khokhar, who had become powerful by defeating and plundering the army of Sultān 'Alī, bādshāh of Kashmīr and had resolved to seize Dehli, p. 300; marches towards Sirhind, p. 301; pursues Sh. Kh. into the hills; returns to Lahore; rebuilds the fortification, p. 302; 826 goes to Kaithar; pillages the country of the Rāthors who submit; returns to Dehli, p. 304; sends Malik Mahmūd Hasan against Shaikh 'Alī, making Multan and Sindh over to him, p. 305; advances against Alp Khān, p. 305; Amīr Khān agrees to pay tribute, p. 305-306; goes to Gwāliār; receives tribute from Alp Khān; returns to Dehli; Miwātians revolt; plunders and devastates Miwāt and returns to Dehli; again marches towards Miwāt, p. 306; sends Malik Mubārīz to put down rebellion of Muhammad Khān; marches in person to Biānah,

p. 308; disturbances in Miwāt, p. 310, goes to Gwālīār via Biānah and then to Hatkānat and defeats Rāy Hanu, p. 311; death of Saiyad Salim; confers titles on his sons, p. 312, starts towards Tabarhindah and sends Zīrak Khān, etc., to besiege Tabarhindah, p. 312; returns to Dehli leaving Islām Khān and others to carry on the siege, p. 313; sends a number of amīrs to help 'Imād-ul-mulk, p. 314; marches towards Lahore and Multan and sends Malik Sarwar in advance, p. 316; marches to Miwāt, p. 317. The inhabitants submit, p. 318; marches to Sāmānah; sends men in pursuit of Sheikh 'Ali, who escapes, p. 319; receives tribute from Muzaffar Khān, Shaikh 'Ali's nephew, pp. 319-20; founds the city of Mubārakābād; news of the victory of Tabarhindah, p. 321; is killed, pp. 321-22.

Mubārak Shāh, Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn, son of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī; makes a young Parwārī vazīr, p. 192; good deeds; rules made by S. 'A. abrogated; becomes dissipated; sends Malik Kamāl-ud-dīn to Gujrāt to puts down revolts, p. 193; sends Ain-ul-Mulk Multāni and brings the province into order; marches to Deogīr against Harpāl Deo, son-in-law of Rām Deo who had taken possession of that place; takes Deogīr and makes Harpāl Deo prisoner and puts him to death, p. 194; Marhatta country brought under subjection; makes Khusrū Khān commander of the army and sends him to Ma'abar; Malik Asad-ud-dīn conspires to murder him; conspiracy betrayed by one of the conspirators, Malik Asad-ud-dīn and his brothers put to death; sends Shādī Khān to Gwālīār to put Khizr Khān, Shādī Khān and

Malik Shihāb-ud-dīn to death; b. has ill towards Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Aulia, p. 195; orders execution of Zafar Khān, feudatory of Gujra and of Shāhīn, p. 196; sends Hisām-ud-dīn brother of Khusrū Khān to Gujrat; Hisām-ud-dīn wants to revolt, but is seized by the amīra and sent to him; releases Khusrū Khān and honours him, p. 197; Malik Wahīd-ud-dīn Kureishi Gujrat and introduces rule and order there; Malik Yaklakhi rebels; is seized and punished; Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multāni made governor of Deogīr; Malik Wahīd-ud-dīn made Vazīr, p. 197; sides with Kh. Kh. and punishes the amīrs, p. 199; plot of Kh. Kh. to kill him; hands over the keys of the palace to Kh. Kh., p. 200; killed, p. 203.

Mubārak Shāh Sharqī, Iqbāl Khān marches against him, p. 283; dies and his brother Sultān Ibrāhīm succeeds, p. 284.

Mufarraḥ Sultāni Malik, receives the title of Farhat-ul-Mulk; made governor of Gujrat, p. 250; puts Sikandar Khān to death with the help of the Amīrs of Gujrāt, p. 254, his rebellion and tyranny, p. 269.

Mughal Targhī, invades Hindustān, and encamps near Dehli, p. 173; goes away without any apparent cause, p. 174.

Muhammad (Khān) Shāhzādah, (afterwards became Sultān Muhammad Shāh) son of Sultān Firoz Shāh; plot of Khān-i-Jahān against his friends; reports to Sultān Firoz Shāh about the plot of K-i-J; attacks K-i-J, p. 252; ascends the throne, p. 253; the troops of Sultān Firoz Shāh rebel against him, p. 254; fighting between his troops and that of S. F. S., p. 254; retires to

the Sarmur hills, p. 255; pursued by S. F. S.'s army, p. 261; Amirs of hundreds kill Sultān Shāh Khushdil and send his head to him; comes to Sāmānah and sits on the throne a 2nd time; arrives at the palace of Jahānumfā, p. 263; defeated by A. B. Sh.; returns to the Doab; some of F. Sh.'s amirs join him; again defeated by Abu Bakr Shāh, marched a 2nd time towards Dehli but is defeated at Kundli; p. 264; orders massacre of S. F. Sh.'s slaves, p. 265; evades A. B. Sh. who marches towards Jalesar with a large army, goes to Dehli, p. 265; takes up his abode in the Humāyūn palace; goes back to Jalesar p. 266; comes back to Dehli and again ascends the throne, p. 267; orders F. Sh.'s slaves to leave Dehli; orders massacre of those who could not leave Dehli, p. 268; sends Humāyūn Khān and others against A. B. Sh.; comes to Kotlah and A. B. Sh. and Bahādur Nāhir surrender; rebellion of M. Sultāni, and of the Zamindārs of the Doab, p. 269; suppressed and their fort is demolished, p. 270; rebellion of Islām Khān who is punished; revolt of the head men of the Doab Rajputs, p. 270; death, p. 271.

Muhammad Khān, rebels; takes Biānah; Malik Mubārīz is sent against him by Sultān Mubārak Shāh; goes to Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, p. 308.

Muhammad Khān, grandson of Sultān Nāsir-ud-din Mālwi; seeks Sultān Sikandar Lodi's protection, p. 379; becomes feudatory of S. S. L., p. 380.

Muhammad Shāh Sultān, his parentage; ascends the throne; hostile attitude of Malik Sarwar (Sarwar-ul-Mulk), p. 322; Sarwar-ul-Mulk and his partisans attempt to murder him

but the former is killed by his friends, p. 325; travels towards Multān, p. 326; makes pilgrimage to the shrines of the Shaikh̄s of Multān and then returns to Dehli; news of disturbances from various quarters; Rays of Gwalior withhold payment of revenue; indolent and careless, p. 327; Miwāti amirs summon Sultān Mahmūd Khilji of Malwah, the latter comes to Dehli, battle with S. M. Khilji's amirs, and proposal of peace, p. 327-328; marches towards Sāmānah, makes over Dībālpūr and Lahore to Malik Bahlol, sends him against Jasrat Khokhar; returns to Dehli, p. 328; death, p. 329. Certain incidents connected with him narrated in the history of the reign of Sultān Bahlol Lodi. At the instigation of Sultān Bahlol Lodi puts Hisām Khān to death and makes Hamīd Khān *razīr*; dies and Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn succeeds him, p. 334.

Muhammad Sultān, son of Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn Balban; sent by his father to Multān to check the Mughals, p. 103; sends messengers to Shaikh̄ Sa'dī in Shirāz; Mughals invade again and he is killed in a battle with them, p. 104; elegy written by Khawāja Hasan, p. 113.

Muhtasib Nabāsa Shāh, placed on the throne by Hājī Moula, p. 166; killed by Hamīd-ud-din Amīr Kū, p. 167.

Mu'izz-ud-din Sultān, Muhammad Sām (Ghuri commonly called Muhammad Ghuri, repeatedly attacks Ghaznīn; marches against Lahore, takes Khusrū Malik to Ghaznīn and puts him to death, p. 35; conquers Multān and Uchch; marches towards Gujrat; is defeated by Rai Bhīm Deo, returns to Ghaznīn, p. 36; invades Lahore again; plunders the

country and founds Siālkot, p. 37; again invades Hindustan and takes Sarhind and makes it over to Ziā-ud-dīn Tukali; Pithora (Prithvi Raj) advances to meet him, p. 38; defeated at the great battle at Tarāin, p. 38-39; retires to Ghaznī; invades India again. 2nd battle of Tarāin, defeats, takes prisoner and kills Pithora: plunders Ajmīr: leaves Kutb-ud-dīn at Kuhrām, p. 39: advances towards Kannauj. defeats Rāi Jaichand; invades Khwārizm, p. 40: chastises Khokhars and when returning is killed. p. 41 (see also note I, p. 41).

Mu'izz-ud-dīn Bahrām Shāh Sultān, proclaimed emperor, p. 77; has Malik Ikhtiar-ud-dīn assassinated: conspiracy of amīrs, p. 78: disclosed by one of the conspirators; conspirators punished, p. 79; Mughals besiege Lahore: governor escapes but Lahore is devastated p. 80; rebel nobles besiege Delhi; imprisoned and executed, p. 81.

Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaikubād Sultān, sent to Lakhnauti: made Sultān with the title of S. M. K.; he gives himself up to pleasure, p. 119-120: lays the foundation of a castle and garden at Kilokheri; Malik Nizām-ud-dīn wants to become emperor himself, p. 120; gets Kaikhusrū assassinated, p. 121; orders Malik Nizam-ud-dīn to kill the Mughal amīrs, p. 121; receives letters from his father Bughra Khān, p. 122: meets his father at Audh. p. 123: account of the meeting, pp. 123, 124; farewell advice of his father Bughra Khān (Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn), p. 124; for some days follows his father's advice, p. 127; is tempted and after a time surrenders himself to a beautiful courtesan, p. 128; becomes ill,

p. 129; wants to remove Malik Nizām-ud-dīn; advises his attendants to poison M. N. which was done; becomes paralysed: his infant son is placed on the throne, p. 130; disturbances; killed in the castle of Kilu Khari, p. 131.

Mujāhid Khān, Sultān Sikandar imprisons him, p. 375-376.

Muqarrab Khān, revolts against Sultān Mahmūd Shāh who besieges the city, but later goes over to him, p. 274-275; killed by Iqbāl Khān, p. 278.

Muzaffar Khān Amīr, nephew of Shaikh 'Alī, left in the fort of Shur by the former, p. 319; makes peace with Sultān Mubārak Shāh and gives him his daughter, p. 319-320.

## N

Nandā, probably Ganda the Chanda Raja of Kālinjar; S. Mahmūd of Ghazni invades India to punish him, for having slain the Raja of Kannauj who had submitted to him (see also note 1 p. 12): Naro Jaipāl encamps in front of M.'s army on the bank of the Jumna, but is defeated; Mahmūd advances towards Nandā's kingdom; N. collects an immense army but finally escapes with a few followers, p. 12; offers Mahmūd 30 elephants, p. 14: exchange of civility between him and Mahmūd, p. 14-15.

Nasrat Khān, sent with Ulugh Khān to conquer Rantambor: is killed, p. 163.

Nasrat Shāh, ascends the throne at Firozābād with the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn Nasrat Shāh, p. 275; agreement with Iqbāl Khān: escapes to Firozābād, p. 277; collects a force and sends Shahāb Khān against Iqbāl Khān, p. 281; retires to Miwat, p. 282.

Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Malik, son of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn, defeats and kills Malik Hīām-ud-dīn (Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn of Bengal), p. 59; same as Nāsir-ud-dīn Sultān, below.

Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Sultān, ascends the throne, p. 84; makes Malik Ghiās-ud-dīn Balban vazīr; his administration, p. 85; Malik Izz-ud-dīn Balban rebels but submits; marches against Raja Jāhar Deo of Gwalior and defeats him and takes the fort of Nirwar (Narwar), p. 88; conquers Tabarhindah, Uchch and Multān, p. 89; marches towards the foot hills of Bijnor (see also note 1, p. 90); revolt of some amīrs; marches to Hānsi to meet the amīrs; peace established, p. 90; hostility of Kutluḡh Khān, his step-father, and others; sends Ulugh Khān-i-Balban to put down the rebellion, p. 91; disperses the people belonging to the hostile party; Mughals come to Uchch and Multān but retire; private habits, p. 92; death, p. 93.

Nāsir-ud-dīn Sultān, title taken by Khusrū Khān (see under Khusrū Khān), p. 201.

Nāsir-ud-dīn Sultān, ruler of Lakhnauti, makes his submission to Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn Tughlak Shāh, p. 213; sent back to Lakhnauti, p. 214.

Nāsir-ud-dīn Sultān, eldest son of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Altamsh; made governor of Audh by his father; defeats and takes Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn Khalji prisoner and kills him, p. 66; dies, p. 67.

Nāsir-ud-dīn Kabājah Sultan, one of the slaves of S. M. M. S. Gh., early career, p. 47; made feudatory of Uchch; after the death of Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn takes possession of all the country as far as the Sarsuti;

great men of Khurāsān, Ghūr and Ghaznīn after the overthrow of these kingdoms by Chengīz Khān entered his service; Mughals besieges Multan; war with the Khān of Khalj, p. 48.

Neo Moslem, conspiracy of, discovered; all of them ordered to be slain, p. 184.

Nizām-ud-dīn Auliā Shaikh, very pious and learned man, p. 183 and p. 185.

Nizām-ud-dīn Malik, wants to become emperor, p. 120; gets order for the slaughter of the Mughāl Amīrs, p. 121; requested by Malik-ul-Umra to turn from his evil designs, p. 122; poisoned by S. M.'s attendants, p. 130.

Nushāba, name of a person supposed to be a mistress of Alexandar the Great, p. 248.

## P

Param Deo, one of the most powerful Rājās of Hindustān, p. 15; S. Mahmūd of Ghaznīn avoids him when returning from Somnath p. 15-16

Parwāris also called Barāos, p. 199, 200, 201, 203 and 204 (see Barāos).

Pir Muhammad Mirza, grandson of Taimūr; p. 276; besieges Uchch; besieges and captures Multān, p. 277.

Pithora (Prithviraj), advances to meet Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn, p. 38, besieges Sarhind; takes it after negotiations; defeated, taken prisoner and slain, p. 39.

## Q

Qutb Khan Lodi, advises Daryā Khān to desert Sultān Mahmūd, p. 340.

## R

Rāi Bhīm Deo, ruler of Nahrwalā, in Gujrat defeats S. Mu'izz ud-dīn M. S. Gh. who returns to Ghaznīn,



p. 36; Kut-ub-ud-din defeats him, p. 40.

Rāi of Kamrud, besieges Bakhtiyar Khilji, p. 54.

Rāi Rudar Deo, offers riches to Ulugh Khān which is not accepted, p. 211, sent to Dehli, p. 213.

Rāi Sār Bīn, Rājā of Sankrah; fled, p. 247.

Rājā Jahar Deo, Rājā of Gwālīar defeated by Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, and the fort of Nirwar taken from him, p. 88.

Rām Deo, ruler of Deogir, defeated by Malik 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, p. 145.

Rāy Hanu Behti, defeated by Sultān Mubārak Shāh, p. 311-312.

Rāy Karan, p. 342, 343 and 346.

Rāy of Jājnagar, escapes to Tilang; begs for peace and sends presents to Sultān Firoz Shāh, p. 247; sends tribute to Khawājah Sarwar, p. 273;

Rāy Sāl Bāhan, Ray of Patna; Sultān Sikandar asks for one of his daughters, and at his refusal devastates and pillages the country, p. 365.

Razia Sultān, early history; made heir by Sultān Shams-ud-din Altamsh p. 74; ascends the throne; certain amirs show hostility to her; brings about dissension among them, p. 75; sends Kutb-ud-din Hasan to relieve the garrison of Rantambor, p. 76; Malik 'Izz-ud-din revolts; marches to Tabarhindah; attacked by Turki nobles who kill Jamāl-ud-din Yākut; is imprisoned; Bahrām Shāh proclaimed emperor; marries M.I. Altūnia and marches to Dehli, is defeated; collects new forces; is again defeated and slain along with Altūnia, p. 77.

Rudar Deo, Ruler of Arangal makes submission to Sultān 'Ala-ud-din's army; gives much treasure, etc., and promises to send the former annual

tribute, p. 182. Ulugh Khān sends to attack him by Sultān Ghiās-ud-din Tughlak Shāh; shuts himself up, sues for peace; prayer refused, p. 211; S. Gh. Tugh. again sends U. Kh. who takes the fort and sends R.D. to Dehli, p. 213.

Rukn-ud-din Ibrāhīm, son of Jalāl-ud-din khalji placed on the throne by his mother, p. 152; goes towards Multān, p. 153; 'Ala-ud-din sends army against him; surrenders; is blinded and kept prisoner at Hānsī, p. 155.

Rukn-ud-dīn Jandah, his plot against Abu Bakr Shāh; is put to death by the former, p. 263.

## S

Sāldi, Mughal; takes possession of Siwistān, defeated by Zafar Khān and sent prisoner to Dehli, p. 158.

Saljukians, trouble with Farrukizād, p. 32; treaty with Ibrāhīm, p. 33.

Sultān Sanjar, comes to Ghaznīn to help one of the brothers of Arslān Shāh, p. 33; defeats Arslān Shāh who retires to Hindustan; places Bahrām Shāh on the throne at Ghaznīn, p. 34.

Sārang Khān, sent to Dibālpūr by Sultān Mahmūd Shāh to suppress the disturbances created by Shaikhā Khokhar, defeats Shaikhā Khokhar and takes possession of Lahore, p. 273; hostility between him and Khizr Khān of Multan; seizes Multan; attacks Ghālib Khān, governor of Sāmānah; defeated by Ghālib Khān, p. 276, rebels against Rāyāt 'Alī Khizr Khān, p. 297.

Sa'id Sarsari Hājī, comes from Egypt with *farmān* of the Abbāsi Caliph, p. 228.

Sarwar Malik, sent by Sultān Mubārak Shāh in advance to Lahore, p. 316; sent to attack Faulad, p. 317;

assumes hostile attitude, against Muhammad Shāh, p. 322, attempts to kill him but is killed himself, p. 325.

Sarwar Khwājah, Jaunpūr, i.e., country from Kanouj to Behar, made over to him by Sultan Muhammad Shāh, with the title of Sultān-ush-Sharq p. 272-273; subjugates the Zamīndārs and receives tribute from the Rāy of Jājnagar and the Bādshāh of Lakhnauti, p. 273.

Shahāb Khān, sent against Iqbāl Khān by Nasrat Shāh, p. 281, is killed by Iqbāl Khān who takes possession of Dehli, p. 281 and 282.

Shahāb-ud-dīn, son of Sultan Nasir-ud-dīn the ruler of Mālwa; quarrels with his father and comes to the court of Sultān Sikandar, but the negotiations did not result in anything, p. 378.

Shāh Khushdīl Sultān, governor of Sāmānah; is killed by the amīrs of hundreds and his head is sent to Shāhzāda Muhammad Shāh, p. 263.

Shams-ud-dīn Altamsh Sultan, originally Malik Altamsh, a slave and son-in-law of Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn, takes possession of Dehli, defeats Ārām Shāh, p. 61, early history, p. 62; brought to Dehli, and sold to Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn; made amīr of Gwālīār, Baran and Badāūn, p. 63; aids Sultān Muizz-ud-dīn Sām against the Khokhars; made Amir-ul-umra; after the death of Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn assumes the title of Shams-ud-dīn p. 64; defeats Sultān Tāj-ud-dīn and keeps him prisoner in Badāūn where he dies; takes Uchch, p. 65; attacks and defeats Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn of Bengal and brings him under subjection; makes his eldest son governor of

Audh, p. 66; captures Rantambar, p. 66; attacks and takes possession of Mandwar (see also note, p. 67), marches to Lakhnauti, quells disturbance and makes 'Izz-ul-mulk Malik 'Ala-ud-dīn Khānī governor of Lakhnauti, p. 68, besieges and captures Gwālīār (see also note 2) p. 68; invades Mālwah and conquers Bhilsā and Ujain, p. 68; marches against Multān, falls ill and dies on his return to Dehli, p. 69.

Shīr Khān, governor of Sunām, Lahore and Dibālpūr, keeps the Mughals in check; dies, p. 102.

Sidi Maulah, a darwesh, p. 140; ordered by Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Khalji to be burnt alive, but he is later dissuaded; killed by a Kalandar, p. 142.

Sikandar Khān, puts Khān-i-Jahān who was surrendered by Kuka Chauhān, to death, p. 253-254; killed by Malik Mufarrah and the Amīrs of Gujrāt, p. 254.

Sikandar Malik, governor of Lahore, attacks Jasrat and is defeated, p. 310-311; defeated and taken prisoner by Sheikhā Khokhar, p. 315.

Sultān Sikandar, of Bengal, takes shelter in Ekdālah; Ekdālah is besieged by Sultān Firoz Shāh; submits and agrees to pay tribute to the former, p. 247.

Sultān Sikandar Lodi, son of Sultān Bahlol Lodi; ascends the throne at Jalālī, p. 355; marches against his brother 'Ālam Khān at Rāpri; 'Ālam Kh. fled to 'Isā Khān in Patiāli; sends Ismā'el Khān to Bārbak Shāh of Jaunpūr; goes to attack Bārbak Shāh who goes from Jaunpūr to Kanouj, p. 357; defeats Bārbak Shāh and places him again on the Sharqi throne, but takes away some of his *parganas*;

tories, p. 358; besieges Biānah and takes it; revolt of the Zamīndārs of Jaunpūr and the Bachgotīs (see also note 2); Josi Piāk (see also notes 4 and 5), p. 359; marches towards Jaunpūr; B. Sh. comes to Dalmau to meet him; marches to Kahtar and defeats the Zamīndārs, p. 360; B. Sh. is seized and is brought, p. 361; expedition towards the country of Patna, p. 362; great mortality in his army; Sultān Husain attacks him; defeats S. H.; takes Behar, p. 363; marches towards Tirhut; goes on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Sharf Munīrī and then advances against Sultān 'Ala-ud-din Bādshāh of Bangālah; makes treaty with him, p. 364; scarcity of grain, remits the collection of an alms rate, p. 365; asks for one of the daughters of Rāy Sālbāhan, Rāy of Patna, and as the latter refuses, pillages and devastates his country, p. 365; attempts to take Bāndhūgarh, is unable to do so, goes back to Jaunpūr, p. 365-366; disputes among the amirs; suspicious of some of them, p. 366; conspiracy of the amirs to put Fateh Khān on the throne; goes to Sambal; p. 367; story of Laudhan Brāhman, p. 368; Laudhan refuses to accept Islām and is put to death, p. 369; 'Alam Khan and other governors are ordered to capture Dholpūr; encamps on the bank of the Asi (Mendaki) and stays there for two months, p. 370-371; much sickness in the camp; Rāi of Gwālīār submits; starts for the conquest of Mundrāel; garrison surrenders, p. 371; demolishes temples and plunders the country; earthquake; marches to Gujrat encamps on the bank of the

expedition of war of religion and plunder, p. 373; suddenly attacked by R. of G., is defeated; returns to Agra; marches towards the fort of Uditnagar; quarrels with Jalāl Khān the gov., p. 374; besieges Uditnagar, heroic defence by the garrison, imprisons Mulla Juman, and Mujāhid Khān for taking bribes from the Raja of Uditnagar for turning him away from it, p. 375-376; great scarcity of water and many deaths on the return journey to Agra; marches to capture the fort of Narwar in Mālwah, p. 376; sends order to Jalāl Khān Lodi, governor of Kālpi to go in advance and begin the siege; J. K. shows his army to him, p. 377, imprisons Jalāl Khān, p. 377; Narwar surrenders: Shahāb-ud-din, the son of Sultān Nāsir-ud-din of Malwa comes to his court having quarrelled with his father but the negotiations result in nothing; erects another fort round Narwar, p. 378; returns to Agra; orders the arrest of Ahmad Khān for becoming a pervert to Hinduism; Muhammad Khān grandson of S. Nāsir-ud-din Mālwi seeks his protection, p. 379; Muhammad Khān, is made *jāgīrdār* of Chanderi; ruler of Nāgor becomes a feudatory; Agra becomes the capital, p. 380; Bahjat Khān, governor of Chanderi renounces his allegiance to Sultān Mahmūd Mālwi and becomes a subject of S. S.; makes a distribution of *jāgīrs*, p. 381; takes possession of Chanderi, p. 382; hypocrisy of 'Ali Khān; removes' A. K. from the governorship of Suī Suīr, p. 383; death; appreciation of his character, p. 384; accessible to the people; God-fearing,

p. 385; Zealous or very bigoted, p. 386; very well informed about the condition of the people, p. 388; morning and evening reports from all armies on the march, p. 388; an anecdote about the sharpness of his intellect, p. 389; an anecdote of Mian Bhudah, p. 391.

Sukhpāl, imprisoned by Mahmūd and died in captivity, p. 6.

## T

Tāj-ud-din Yeldūz Sultān, one of the slaves of S. M. Muhammad Sām Ghūrī early account, p. 45; ruler in Ghaznīn, p. 46; advances into Hindustān and is taken prisoner by Shams-ud-din Altamsh, p. 47; kept prisoner at Badāūn, where he dies, p. 65.

Taimūr Gurgān Amīr arrives at Multān; takes Bhatnīr; overruns Sāmānah; comes to the Doab, takes 50,000 people captive and kills a great number; encamps at Firozūbād, p. 279; Iqbāl Khān opposes him, but is routed and escapes to Baran, p. 280; orders massacre of the inhabitants of Dehli, p. 280; Khizr Khān and others render homage, p. 281; returns along the foot of the Sivālik hills, p. 281; seizes Sheikhā Khokar, pillages and sacks Lahore; makes Multān and Dībālpūr over to Khizr Khān, p. 281.

Tātār Khān, sent by Sultān Ghiās-ud-din Tughlaq Shāh, p. 213; brings Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Sunārgām with much booty to the Sultān, p. 213-214.

Tughān, rebels, p. 295; slays Sārang treacherously; rebels, and Khair-ud-din is sent against him by Khizr Khān, p. 298.

Tughlaq Shāh Muhammad Sultān, (see Ulugh Khān).

Tughlaq Shāh Sultān, son of Fateh Khān; made heir by Sultān Firoz Shāh, p. 255; ascends the throne, 790; sends Sultān Muhammed Tughlaq Shāh in pursuit of Sultān Muhammad Shāh; army returns, p. 261; drowns himself in luxury and pleasures; Malik Rukn-ud-dīn and other rebels attack him and he is killed, p. 262.

Tughral, ruler of Lakhnauti revolts against Sultān Gh. Balban; defeats his troops; defeats another army sent by him, p. 108; retires towards Jājnagar; pursued by S. G. Balban; disappears, p. 109; is pursued and slain, p. 110.

Tughral, receives summons from Amīr Maudūd, page 29; treacherously attacks and kills 'Abd-ur-rashīd; ascends the throne but is killed soon after, p. 32.

Turkinans, measures taken by Amīr Mas'ud against them p. 21; agreement with the former p. 24; trouble with Amīr Mas'ud, p. 24; trouble with Amīr Maudūd, p. 28.

## U

Ubaid, poet, spreads false report of the death of Sultān Ghiās-ud-din, p. 212.

Ulugh Khān, (Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh) governor of Sāmānah sent by S. 'Ala-ud-dīn Khalji to conquer Rantambor, p. 163; sent to Arangal; arrives at Deogir, ravages Tilang, besieges Arangal, Rai Rudar Deo offers riches, offers not accepted. vigorous exertions to capture the citadel, p. 211; starts for Deogir, reassembles his troops at Deogir, returns to Dehli, p. 212; again sent to Arangal; arrives in Tilang and

seizes the fort of Bīdar, marches to Jājnagar, p. 213; erects a pavilion at Afghānpūr; meets Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn Tughlaq Shāh who is killed by the falling of the roof of the pavilion. Did he compass his father's death or was it accidental? p. 214; ascends the throne; rejoicings; character—vain ambition; strictly religious, p. 215; severe, unjust and cruel; very liberal; his liberality to the nobles and also to men of learning and skill, great ability and judgment, eloquence, p. 216; preference of ratiocinative over traditional learning; great reverence for the Abbāsi Caliph; conquers Gujrat, Mālwah, Deogīr, Tilang, Kampila, Dhor Samundar, Ma'ābar, Tirhut, Lakhnauti, Satgāon and Sonārgam, p. 217: collects revenue strictly; treasury full inspite of excessive lavishness; old rules abolished and new rules made, p. 217; subjects ruined; whole populations put to the sword; rebellions; increases rents of lands in the Doab by 10%; drought and famine; makes Deogīr his capital and calls it Daulatābād, p. 218; aspires to universal conquest; issues copper coins to pay his large army; copper tangahs brought to the treasury to be exchanged for gold and silver tangahs, p. 219; plans conquest of Khurāsān and 'Irāq; and of Himāchāl mountains; army destroyed in the mountains, p. 220; rebellions of Bahrām Abīh, in Multān; kills Bahrām in battle; Deogīr ruined and desolated, returns to Dehli; the Doab desolated on account of exactions; goes to Baran to hunt, orders the country to be pillaged and the people to be slain; rebellion in Bangālah, p. 221; engaged in ravag-

ing the country round Kanouj, revolt of Hasan in Ma'ābar; Sult starts towards Ma'ābar, p. 222; famine in Mālwah; Sultān returns to Dehli from Deogīr, p. 223; his mother dies; Shāhu Afghān, rebels near Multān, p. 223; endeavours to increase cultivation; revolt of Mundāhirs, Chauhāns, Bahtians and Minahs in Sunām and Samāns; destroys their fortifications, brings their leaders to Dehli and settles them there; vainly attempts to extend cultivation, p. 224; resides at Sargdwārī; four insurrections, p. 225; sends for the amīrs and advances to Kanouj, p. 226; battle near Kanouj; 'Ain-ul-Mulk's army defeated and nearly all slain; pardons and honours 'Ain-ul-Mulk; goes from Bāngar Mau to Bahraich and makes pilgrimage to Sipah Sālār Ma'sud Shahīd's shrine, p. 227; returns to Dehli, p. 227; renders homage to the Abbāsi Caliph in Egypt: orders the Caliph's name to be impressed on the coin instead of his own, p. 228; further measures to improve cultivation all unsuccessful, p. 229-230; divides country into circles of thirty *Karohs*; dismisses old officers and appoints new officers, p. 230; orders revenue collected to be kept at Dhārāgarh; sends 'Aziz Khamār who belonged to the meaner class to govern Mālwa; confers honour on some of the lowest classes of people, p. 231-232; news of the pillage of the royal revenue and horses from Malik Makhil by Amir Sadahs of Gujrat; marches to Gujrat, p. 232; Talks with Zia-i-Barni about punishment, p. 233; recovers the revenue of Baroch and Kambāyat and the entire province of Gujrat, p. 234; Fresh rebellions:

marches from Baroch to Deogir; defeats the rebels, p. 235; goes back to Baroch and then to Kambūyat; attacked by Taghi; defeats him, sends men in pursuit of him, p. 236-237; puts down rebellion; remains at Nahrwālā; engaged with the settlement of the affairs of Gujrat and the capture of Karnāl (Juna-garh) p. 237-238; falls ill; re-covers and starts from Gondal, p. 238; Altūn Bahādūr joins him with five thousand Mughals; becomes seriously ill, dies, p. 239.

## W

Wahīd-ud-dīn Kureishī Malik, sent to Gujrat as Governor, introduces rule and order there; made Vazir, with the title of Tāj-ul-Mulk, p. 197; again made Vazir by Khusru Khān, p. 205.

## Y

Yaklakhi Malik, rebellion, seized with his confederates and is punished by Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn M.Sh, p. 197.

## Z

Zafar Khān, sent by S. 'Ala-ud-dīn to Multan against S. Jalāl-ud-dīn Khālji's son, p. 155: Re-conquers Siwistān after it had been conquered by Saldi, a Mughal invader, p. 158: attacks and defeats the Mughal army under Kutlugh Khawājah, is killed after pursuing them a long distance. His great bravery p. 159. Zafar Khān, foudatory of Gujrāt; ordered to be executed by Sultān K.M.Sh. p. 196.

Zain-ud-dīn Qāzi, attempts unsuccessfully to warn Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn of the plot of Khusru Khān, p. 201: is stabbed, p. 203.

Ziā-ud-dīn Tukali, or Tulaki; Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn makes over Sarhind to him after conquering it. p. 38.

Zīrak Khān, sent by Rayat 'Ali Khizr Khān against the Turks who had seized Sarhind, p. 295: they submit and agree to pay tribute, p. 296.

Zulqarnain Sikandar, story of coming to Nagarkot, p. 248, (see also note 1, p. 248).